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MILDRED THRONE

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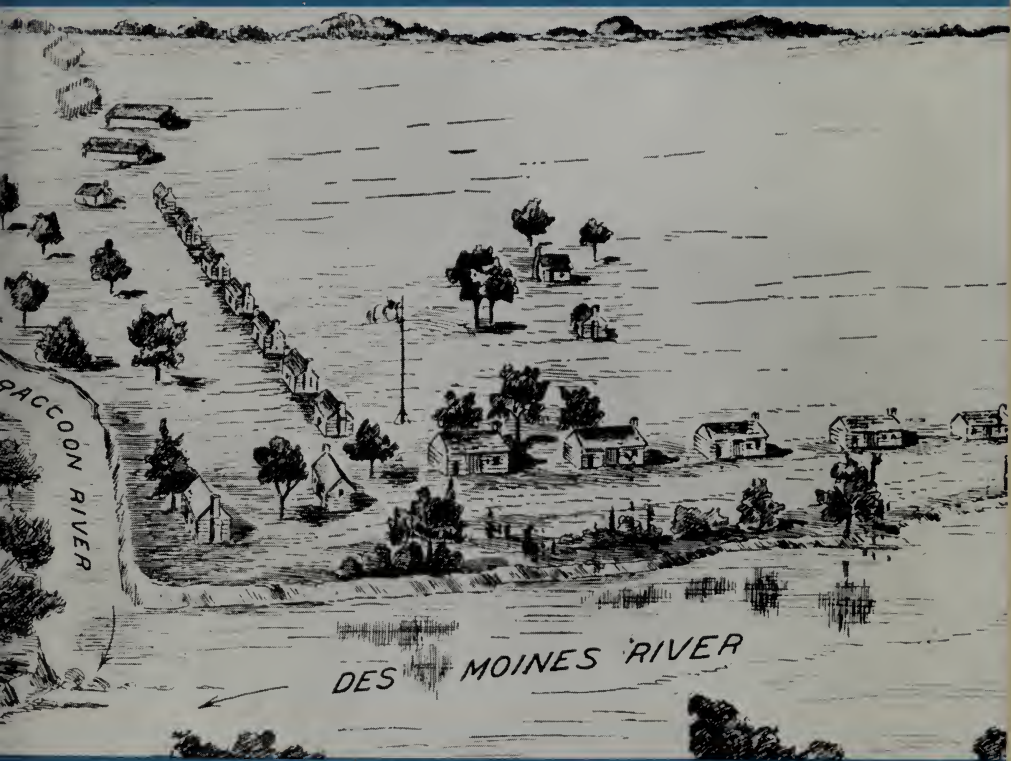
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COVER

A view of Fort Des Moines as it appeared in 1844. From Tacitus Hussey, *Beginnings, Reminiscences of Early Des Moines* (Des Moines, 1919).

THE BACKGROUND OF STATE RAILROAD REGULATION IN IOWA

By *Earl S. Beard*

Few periods in the history of American railway transportation have produced changes more significant than those of the turbulent 1870's. In their total effect, the events of those years marked an abandonment of any pretense of *laissez faire* in railroad management and the substitution of a doctrine sanctioning state governmental regulation of private enterprise when such enterprise became "clothed with a public interest." This was the principle applied in 1877 by the United States Supreme Court in the so-called "Granger decisions," first in the well-known case of *Munn v. Illinois*, and then in a number of cases wherein railroad companies had challenged the constitutionality of state laws establishing maximum charges for their services.¹ In effect, the Court ruled that the attainment of certain social ends justified modification of the prevailing view of competition as the only legitimate regulator of business enterprise. And although subsequent decisions sharply limited state power over interstate business, and arrogated to the judiciary the determination of reasonableness in the fixing of rates, the doctrine of *public interest*, "the fundamental principle of the right of a state to regulate a business which is public in nature," has been continuously maintained.²

The agitation that led directly to this new definition of state power took place first in the upper Mississippi Valley, particularly in the states of Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, where, in its later stages, it became closely identified with other aspects of agrarian unrest, the formation of independent political parties, and the rise of the Granger movement. In each of the four states, the passage of restrictive legislation occurred be-

¹ *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U. S. Reports, 113. Other decisions, involving railroads, are found in the same volume on pp. 155, 164, 179, 180, 181. Though argued at various times after 1875, the decisions in these cases were all rendered March 1, 1877.

² Especially in the cases of *Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railway Co. v. Illinois*, 118 U. S. Reports, 557 (1886); *Chicago, Minneapolis & St. Paul Railroad Co. v. Minnesota*, 134 U. S. Reports, 418 (1890); and *Smyth v. Ames*, 169 U. S. Reports, 466 (1898). See also, Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement . . .* (Cambridge, 1913), 206.

tween 1870 and 1875, years in which the Grange attained its greatest strength in terms of membership and political influence. Though not conceived as an attack on railroads, the Grange became involved in the railroad controversy soon after its organization in 1868, and unquestionably exercised a decisive influence upon events that led finally to the enactment of state legislation regulating railroad operation. Yet, as the foremost historian of the movement has noted, demands for regulation were heard long before the Patrons of Husbandry rose to importance, suggesting the probability of legislation on the subject "even without the accompanying movement for agricultural organization."³

So far as Iowa was concerned, demands for the regulation of all private corporations, including railroads, were heard even prior to the formation of a state government. Most, if not all, of the Democratic delegates to Iowa's first constitutional convention in 1844 favored corporation restriction, and their views were embodied in the completed constitution.⁴ By the terms of that document the legislature was permitted to pass special acts incorporating private companies, but it was also given authority to repeal such acts at any later time. In effect, corporations were to hold their charters during good behavior. Furthermore, each holder of a corporation's stock was made liable for all the debts of the company. This provision, it was thought, would influence stockholders to guard against the extension of corporation debts very far beyond the capital actually paid in. Other provisions prohibited incorporated companies from using private property without the owner's consent and forbade the state government to own corporation stock.⁵ The latter stipulation, of course, was restrictive only in the negative sense that it closed the door to a source of capital and credit that had often been available to private corporations in other states. Considered alone it would seem to reflect a demand for complete separation of

³ Buck, *Granger Movement*, 123-4.

⁴ Due to the fact that no official record of the proceedings was kept, other than a journal, only parts of the debates of the convention were preserved. These fragments, which were originally reported in two Iowa City weekly newspapers, *The Iowa Standard* and *The Iowa Capital Reporter*, were collected by Benj. F. Shambaugh and reprinted in *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846* (Iowa City, 1900).

⁵ Report of the committee on incorporations in *Journal of the Convention for the Formation of a Constitution for the State of Iowa, 1844*, 15, 29-30; for the final draft of the article on corporations, see Benj. F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa* (3 vols., Iowa City, 1895-1901), 1:166.

government from corporations organized for pecuniary profit. Actually, the dominant feeling toward business-government relationships, as they affected corporation activity, was far more complex than could be indicated by an arbitrary summation under the heading of an absolute "hands off" attitude. Very clearly, majority opinion desired constitutional arrangements prescribing rather definitely the terms under which corporate enterprise might operate.

Basic to the desire for some control of private corporations was the belief that they represented an element contradictory to the spirit and practice of true democracy under republican government. Implicit in this view was a continuing resentment of the encroaching influence of commercial and financial capitalism in the nation's economic and political life. The Democrats of the convention were convinced that the granting of corporation charters by special acts of the legislature was really a system whereby extraordinary advantages, denied to the general public, were awarded to favored groups or individuals. It was a system subversive of equal rights, thus of equal opportunity, and hence conducive to monopoly, economic oppression, and plutocracy. The only privilege the state should ever sanction, thought the Democrats, was "the privilege of being equal." Under ordinary circumstances the proper role of government was that of a neutral who avoids interference in favor of any private individual or group. But on those occasions when it might be expedient for any reason to bestow corporate privileges, it was no more than fair to the public interest that government should retain the power to withdraw such privileges in the event of their abuse. To avoid misunderstanding and provide positive assurance that the people possessed this power, it was proper that it be clearly stated in the constitution. However, concern for the public interest was not to be perverted by allowing the government to become a party to works of internal improvement or other business ventures. Participation of the government would compromise its status as an impartial agent of all the people. Those favored with the partnership of the state might easily attain a position of monopoly; hence the propriety of preventing state ownership of stock.⁶

Whigs in the convention, with a very few exceptions, saw matters in a different light. Though greatly outnumbered, they argued their case adroitly from one position to another until finally overwhelmed in the voting. They

⁶ *Iowa City Iowa Capital Reporter* and *Iowa City Iowa Standard* in Shambaugh (ed.), *Fragments of the Debates* . . . , 68-70, 71-3, 91, 93, 188-91, 195-202.

objected to the policy of restriction on the ground that it would render difficult, if not impossible, all attempts to exploit the potential of the future state in commerce, manufacturing, and transportation. In the course of the debate their fears were summed up by Ebenezer Cook, banker and prominent Whig of Scott County.

Under these proposed restrictions we could not safely associate, nor could we get capitalists at the East to subscribe anything to a public improvement here. . . . No individual would consent to subscribe in a company of 500 or 600, or 1000 men, where their acts were to render his property all liable to be taken from him. . . . If this doctrine of individual liability and repeal of charters at will was to prevail, there would be no companies for improvement formed in this state.

Conceding that occasionally some corporation restriction might be desirable, the Whigs maintained that it fell within the province of the legislature to decide what limitations should be imposed. They favored a policy of leaving the question of restrictions "to the action of future legislatures, and the people." The constitution, they thought, ought to remain free of the minutiae that must inevitably result from an attempt to anticipate every eventuality. But these and other protests of the Whigs were waved aside.⁷ Democrats were in firm control of the convention, and their views prevailed.

Democratic elation over the outcome of the convention, however, was short lived. Twice during 1845 the proposed constitution was submitted to the people of the territory for ratification, and on both occasions a majority was returned against its adoption. The defeats were due largely to widespread confusion over the boundaries of the state. Congress had greatly reduced the northern boundary as it had been proposed in the constitution, and many people believed that ratification carried with it acceptance of the congressional boundaries. Those opposed to the constitution had been active in fostering this impression.⁸

Again, in 1846, the citizens of Iowa Territory approached the task of making a state constitution, and again Democrats dominated a convention chosen for that purpose, outnumbering their Whig rivals 22 to 10. With

⁷ Iowa City *Iowa Standard* in *ibid.*, 84-5, 92-3, 142, 143-4, 144-6.

⁸ Iowa City *Iowa Capital Reporter*, May 24, June 7, Aug. 27, 1845; Bloomington *Herald*, April 17, 1846, in *ibid.*, 242-53, 260-63, 269-94, 294-313, 373-4. Several well-known Democrats campaigned against ratification because of the boundary controversy. See Louis Pelzer, "The History and Principles of the Democratic Party in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 6:40-44 (January, 1908).

past experience to guide them, the delegates proceeded so rapidly that the new constitution was completed within a period of fifteen days.⁹

Changes from the earlier instrument were relatively minor, except in the sections affecting business-government relationships. There, several significant alterations were made, only two of which were pleasing to the Whigs. The provision of 1844, that private property was not to be used by any incorporated company without the consent of the owner, was dropped altogether, an action representing a definite concession to those interested in railroad planning. Another change congenial to Whig proclivities was one giving the legislature power to determine the liabilities and restrictions to be placed on corporation stockholders. This principle was one the Whigs had supported strongly in the previous convention. Other provisions of the articles dealing with state credit and corporations were regarded less favorably by the Whigs. The prohibition of state ownership of corporation stock was retained, while the power of the legislature to create private corporations through *special* laws was abolished completely. Instead, the legislature was authorized to provide, by *general* laws, for the organization of all corporations — except corporations with banking privileges. Banks, or any institutions creating paper to circulate as currency, were prohibited.¹⁰

Whigs promptly branded the constitution as tainted throughout with Locofocoism, a term of particular opprobrium in their eyes. Probably the description was fully deserved. The procedures outlined in the constitution, as well as the theory behind it, bore a marked resemblance to the program and principles of the Locofoco or Equal Rights party which had flourished briefly in New York between 1835 and 1837. In their determination to deny special privileges, Iowa's Democrats in 1846 followed the Locofocos quite closely. The hard money system and the policy of government non-interference, as exemplified by constitutional strictures against the use of state credit in the development of internal improvements or other private projects, had also been advocated by the Locofocos.¹¹ The Whigs found all of this regrettable in the extreme.

⁹ Benj. F. Shambaugh, *The Constitutions of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1934), 185-92. Unfortunately the debates of this convention were less fully reported than those of the first convention. Only a few press comments are available.

¹⁰ *Constitution of Iowa, 1846*, Articles VIII and IX in Shambaugh (ed.), *Documentary Material* . . ., 1:204-205.

¹¹ See resolutions and a "Statement of Principles" of the Locofoco Party in F. Byrdsall, *The History of the Locofoco or Equal Rights Party* . . . (New York, 1842), 27, 39-42.

William Penn Clarke of Iowa City, Whig candidate for a seat on the Council, issued a lengthy statement urging the electors of Muscatine, Johnson, and Iowa counties to vote against the constitution. Once adopted it would prevent any participation by the people as a whole in undertakings intended to "annihilate time and space, and bring the markets of the East and the South to the doors of the Western Agriculturist." The accomplishment of internal improvements by corporations organized under a *general law*, he argued, was little more than hollow mockery of those truly interested in the welfare of the state.

The idea of making a railroad or canal, under a general law, repealable at the will of the lawmaking power, is perfectly absurd. Such a thing has never been done, and never will be done. Capital is always jealous of power, and looks well to the dangers which threaten its profits. It can not be induced to enter into enterprises which may be crushed by an arbitrary exercise of power, and leave it remediless. Such would be its situation under this provision.

Concluding his remarks on corporations, Clarke warned solemnly that a vote for the constitution would be, in reality, a vote "for the prohibition of works of Internal Improvement in the future State."¹²

Despite the fervor with which Clarke and others of his persuasion presented their arguments in the press and on the stump, the constitution was ratified in the election of August 4, 1846. Though attitudes would soon change, the population of Iowa, consisting mostly of farmers still in the subsistence stage of agriculture, was not immediately impressed with the need of attracting investment capital. Settlement of the boundary issue was probably the decisive factor. Earlier in the year Congress had agreed to accept a compromise boundary, in substance the boundary outlined in the second constitutional convention, which was also acceptable to the people of the Territory.¹³

With the turmoil of constitution making behind them, Iowans proceeded rapidly to the organization of a state government and the provision of its laws. Among the early acts of the first General Assembly, which met in Iowa City November 30, 1846, was the passage of a stringent general incor-

¹² Iowa City *Iowa Standard*, July 20, 1846, in Shambaugh (ed.), *Fragments of the Debates* . . ., 347-65.

¹³ Shambaugh, *Constitutions of Iowa*, 204-205.

poration law. It provided that any number of persons might incorporate themselves for the transaction of any business that would ordinarily be the object of a general partnership, including "the construction of railroads, and other works of internal improvement." Failure to comply with certain stated requirements concerning the filing of articles of association and giving notice through the press, or the payment of dividends leaving insufficient funds for liabilities, rendered the individual property of all the incorporators liable for corporation debts. At all times the private property of each stockholder was to be liable for all the debts of the corporation up to the amount of stock owned. A number of companies organized to construct railroads soon incorporated under this law. There was widespread agreement with the editor of the *Iowa Standard*, who commented that: "What is wanting is a certain and uninterrupted road to market, and not one dependent on the rains and the seasons."¹⁴

During the next four years "railroad meetings" were held at Marion, Dubuque, Iowa City, Muscatine, Oskaloosa, Sigourney, and other intermediate points.¹⁵ The result of all this activity was the establishment of new companies replete with officers, directors, and — great plans. After organizing in accordance with the general incorporation law, these companies faced a very real problem — that of obtaining the right-of-way at a price within reason. Without the assurance of being able to do so, railroads could not proceed, even when the capital required for ordinary purposes was available. The General Assembly responded to this difficulty by delegating to each company applying for it the power of eminent domain.¹⁶ As a matter of principle, here was a breach in the wall so carefully erected by the equal rights people against special privilege. Any group of persons possessed the constitutional right of incorporating themselves as a railroad company under the *general* law, but as a practical matter, only those who could obtain from the legislature the *special* right of appropriating to their

¹⁴ *Laws of Iowa, 1846-1847*, Ch. 81; *Iowa City Iowa Standard*, May 19, 1847.

¹⁵ *Iowa City Iowa Standard*, Jan. 5, Apr. 5, 1848; *Muscatine Iowa Democratic Inquirer*, Dec. 21, 28, 1850, June 21, Sept. 13, 1851, cited in Lyle E. Mantor, "Historical Influences Upon Iowa of Railroad Building from 1850 to 1860" (M.A. thesis, unpublished, State University of Iowa, 1925), 87-92.

¹⁶ The companies requesting and receiving this authority were: The Mississippi Rapids Railroad Company; Davenport & Iowa City Railroad Company; Dubuque & Keokuk Railroad Company South; Lyons Iowa Central Railroad Company; Comanche & Council Bluffs Railroad Company; and Iowa Western Railroad Company. See *Laws of Iowa (Extra Session)*, 1848, Ch. 51; 1850-1851, Chs. 4, 34, 46, 57, 66, 78, 85.

use privately owned land had any real chance of building a line. The General Assembly remedied this condition in 1853 by enacting a law enabling any railroad company properly organized under the general incorporation law to secure the right-of-way in the before mentioned manner.¹⁷ This law, of course, was subject to repeal at any time, in which case those who had taken advantage of its provisions prior to repeal would have received privileges not given to late comers. It was perhaps becoming clearer that, contrary to the earlier expectations of many people, legislative decisions would play a vital part in the construction of a railroad system in Iowa.

As matters stood in 1853 it was not likely that any company organized to build a railroad would be denied an opportunity to try. The many public meetings held, the companies formed, and the wide publicity given to extravagant promises and predictions — all had combined to fire the public imagination as almost nothing else could have. Yet, in 1853, after seven years of statehood, Iowa did not have in operation within its borders a single mile of railroad. The cold, hard fact was that Iowans did not possess the ready capital to finance any large-scale enterprise. And eastern capital, which later was to assume an indispensable role in Iowa railroad building, had not yet entered the state in any significant amount. This, roughly, was the situation Clarke had foreseen in 1846. What he had not foreseen soon began to take place on a very wide scale. Units of local government, towns and counties, began to vote bonds and exchange them for railroad stock. Promoters of the roads marketed the bonds to eastern investors, who seemed to have more confidence in the credit of the municipalities than in the probable success of the railroad projects. So popular was this method of financing that by 1857 the bonded debt of local government units, for railroad purposes, was estimated to be more than eleven million dollars.¹⁸

Thus, despite the best efforts of the constitution makers, the people of Iowa in their various corporate capacities had loaned their credit to privately owned companies and had become owners of corporation stock. True,

¹⁷ *Laws of Iowa, 1852-1853*, Ch. 31.

¹⁸ For the problem of securing eastern capital, see Richard C. Overton, *Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad* (Cambridge, 1941), 61, 66. For a discussion of aid to railroads in the form of local bond issues, see Earl S. Beard, "Local Aid to Railroads in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 50:1-17 (January, 1952).

local government was not the state government, but a separation of the two in this instance required the drawing of a very fine line; so fine, in fact, that no small amount of judicial gymnastics was needed to stay on it. The State Supreme Court succeeded in performing the feat in 1853 with a decision leaving final authority in the matter in the hands of the legislature. This power the legislature exercised very generously until a later decision of the court pointed out, first, that local units were merely subdivisions of the state government; and second, that it was absurd to suppose that the state government could delegate powers it did not itself possess.¹⁹ Viewed objectively, the bond voting scheme must be seen as an attempt to circumvent provisions of the constitution which were acting as a brake on full-scale efforts to obtain railroads.

Another measure of the intense desire for railroads was the eagerness with which people of the state sought a grant of public lands to aid construction. Newspapers early joined the clamor for a land donation, and few railroad meetings adjourned without first resolving that the legislature petition Congress accordingly. The General Assembly needed little urging; before 1856 only one session failed to ask Congress for a gift of lands for railroad purposes. The biennial request was finally answered in 1856 when Iowa received a grant providing for aid in constructing four lines roughly paralleling each other in an east-west direction across the state. The Commissioner of the General Land Office estimated the grant to include 3,456,000 acres.²⁰

Considering now the course of railroad affairs to 1856, it appears that many Democrats had modified their earlier assumption that government intervention would be neither necessary nor desirable, once the right of corporate organization was open to all under uniform rules. Swept up in the tide of railroad enthusiasm, many, apparently, had accepted as futile any attempt to extend a rail network quickly without conferring certain privileges upon private corporations. Their votes had played an important part in giving railroad companies the power of eminent domain, the use of public credit through local bond issues, and a claim upon a large portion of

¹⁹ For a discussion of the various court decisions, see Beard, "Local Aid to Railroads . . .," 24-6.

²⁰ *Laws of Iowa, 1848*, joint resolution 5; memorial 3; *1848-1849*, joint resolutions 5, 15; *1850-1851*, memorials 4, 5; *1852-1853*, joint resolutions 2, 3; memorials 1, 3. 11 *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 9. Estimate of the land grant is in *Senate Executive Documents*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess. (1857-1858), Vol. 2, p. 89.

the public lands within the state. Having had no way of seeing beforehand the railroad craze that would grip the state, and no experience in the building of railroads under semi-pioneer conditions, none of the Democratic constitution makers had been able to foresee the full scope of the problems and difficulties to be encountered, nor the concessions that would have to be made. Railroad building simply had not conformed to known patterns used as guides. Experience seemed to demonstrate that success depended upon special privileges and public assistance given to private enterprisers who expected to reap a profit from operations which would, at the same time, bring vast benefits to the individual citizen and to the community as a whole.

Meanwhile, those whose thinking about business and government had long been colored by the Whig bias had also had an opportunity to make some observations. As a result there was a growing tendency to feel some of the apprehension expressed by the Democrats in 1844 and 1846 concerning the dangers inherent in the establishment of powerful business interests through the assistance of government itself. Already there had been a chance to note some of the changes wrought by the extension, or even the promised extension, of a rail line into a region only barely removed from frontier conditions. In advance of the railhead, speculators and actual settlers scrambled for places in the path of the on-coming line, towns were made and unmade as routes were located and then changed, and established population centers vied, sometimes bitterly, for the certainty of a place on the route. As the rails were laid, or as it seemed they were about to be laid, land prices boomed, the population of the countryside increased, commercial transactions multiplied, towns grew in size and prestige, and farmers prepared to welcome the desired road to market. These latter developments impressed themselves the more forcefully upon the consciousness; as harbingers of *progress* they pointed the way to fulfillment of cherished hopes and plans for the future. Nonetheless, it was apprehended, by Whig and Democrat alike that an institution capable of producing alterations so far-reaching in their effect upon socio-economic conditions might well become a powerful determining influence in all phases of society. The rumble of a passing train in early Iowa almost literally reverberated through the entire social structure. No one was more sensitive to this than James W. Grimes, a Whig who had become governor of the state in 1854. His message concerning distribution of the federal land grant in 1856 recom-

mended that the legislature act in such a manner as "to protect the people against the sometimes oppressive monopolizing tendencies of powerful corporations."²¹

Grimes's election in 1854 and further Whig successes in the following year signified a decline in the strength of the state Democratic party, due in part to its identification with the unpopular measures of the Pierce and Buchanan administrations. Its influence in the state government was to become nearly negligible during much of the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Many "anti-Nebraska" and antislavery Democrats would become Republicans in the period of shifting party allegiances preceding the war. The apparent ease with which such changes were beginning to be made was perhaps a further indication of the common ground from which members of both parties were coming to view the state's outstanding domestic problems, *i.e.*, those connected with the building of a railroad system.

Other evidence of agreement came in a revision of the constitution in 1857, primarily to legalize banking activity in the state. Contrary to Democratic expectations, the hard money system had not brought about a stable unfluctuating currency. What little gold and silver came into the state was reserved for the purchase of land or the payment of taxes. For other purposes requiring currency the citizens of Iowa were dependent upon depreciated paper originating in other states.²² Dissatisfaction with these conditions led to a strong sentiment favoring a change in the constitution to admit banking. When the issue was placed before the people in an election late in 1856, a total of 32,790 of 46,952 votes cast favored the calling of a convention. In another election held soon afterward to select 36 convention delegates, 21 Republicans and 15 Democrats were chosen. Two of the Republicans had formerly been Democrats; the others were recently converted Whigs.²³

From the outset, debates in the convention that met in 1857 were marked by relatively little of the partisanship so evident in the previous conventions. As the revised article on incorporations emerged from the discussions,

²¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives (Extra Session), 1856, 12.*

²² The money situation generally in Iowa between 1846 and 1857 is described by Howard H. Preston, *History of Banking in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1922), 56-68.

²³ Official proclamation of the canvass is in Shambaugh (ed.), *Documentary Material . . .*, 1:221-2. For political affiliation of the delegates, see Erik M. Eriksson, "The Framers of the Constitution of 1857," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 22: 58-9 (January, 1924).

it represented a combination of elements that had seemed irreconcilable a decade earlier. The principle of forming corporations under a general law was maintained — but with an exception. At its discretion the legislature might create a state bank by special charter. However, the General Assembly was authorized “to amend or repeal all laws for the organization or creation of corporations or granting of special or exclusive privileges or immunities by a vote of two-thirds of each branch of the General Assembly . . .,” but no exclusive privileges, “except as provided for in this article,” were ever to be granted. Only five Democrats and one Republican voted against this article when it was offered for final approval. Among those voting in its favor was Jonathan C. Hall, Democrat and fiery protagonist of equal rights in the convention of 1844. At the earlier convention, Hall, denouncing all banks, had supported the view that financial institutions created no wealth; they merely speculated and traded upon the capital produced by farmers and laborers. Consent was unanimous in 1857 for a continuation of the prohibition against giving or lending state credit to any “individual, association, or corporation.”²⁴

Early in the convention it was suggested that there ought also to be a ban on the county and city bond voting scheme. The incongruity in allowing municipalities, mere creatures of the state government, to exercise powers denied to the state was at once pointed out. The majority rejected this view, reasoning that local bond issues were one of the few means by which Iowa could attract the outside capital necessary to the building of railroads. This opinion continued to prevail throughout the greater part of the convention, proponents of restriction being defeated on several occasions as they attempted to revive the subject. Still later, near the close of the convention, Rufus L. B. Clarke, Republican of Henry County, again broached the topic. A lengthy discussion ensued in which the persistence of Clarke and a few others, both Democrats and Republicans, won over enough support to secure a compromise settlement which provided that no county or municipal corporation might become indebted for any purpose to an amount greater than 5 per cent of the value of its taxable property.²⁵

The debates over this matter, and over others as well, reflected a spirit of

²⁴ For a discussion and the vote on Article VIII, see *The Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Davenport, 1857), 2:1024-5, 1034-65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:289-344; 2:775-80, 804-810; Beard, “Local Aid to Railroads . . .,” 10.

opportunism which was an accurate index of existing conditions with regard to railroads. Against a background of railroad building and other conditions consistent with a gradual emergence from an economy based primarily on subsistence agriculture, elements of two traditions, present in the state at its inception and identified with separate political parties, had been brought together. Within this new alignment were both the Iowa Whig tradition of business-government cooperation in the interest of the general good, and the Democratic fear of oppression through monopoly, made possible by government interference in the form of special privilege. Balanced against these attitudes, among other things, was the continuing demand for railroads. Having played a part in breaking down the old patterns, this railroad hunger now assisted in holding together disparate elements of the new. Convenience continued to be the touchstone of Iowa's railroad policy.

Construction progress, until the late sixties, was relatively slow, due to interruptions and slowdowns occasioned by the Panic of 1857, the Civil War, and the ever present shortage of building funds. On the eve of the war, after a near decade of unceasing effort, the state boasted 655 miles of track. This represented no mean accomplishment in view of the difficulties that had been overcome, but concentrated in the east, as it was, it failed to elicit much praise from the central and western sections. People living in parts of the state as yet untouched by railroads remained constantly alert to the main chance of acquiring one. In pursuit of this object, important favors continued to be given to various railroads despite constitutional disavowal of special privilege. In addition to land grants and local bond issues, the roads received aid from the sale of swamp lands,²⁶ and from outright gifts of money raised locally under the 5 per cent tax provision.

Favoritism through the tax structure was another method by which rail companies received advantages not given to individual citizens and other business groups. Some estimate of the leniency with which they were treated may be formed from a brief review of the tax laws and reports of state officials. In compliance with a statute of 1862, slightly amended in 1868, railroads within the state were taxed annually at the rate of 1 per cent on their gross receipts. This was in lieu of all taxes on the roadbed, track, rolling stock, and buildings necessary to the operation of the roads. A change in the law in 1870 made the levy 1 per cent of gross receipts up

²⁶ For the whole problem of swamp lands, see Roscoe L. Lokken, *Iowa Public Land Disposal* (Iowa City, 1942), Chap. VIII.

to \$3,000 per mile; between \$3,000 and \$6,000, 2 per cent; and over \$6,000, 3 per cent. The entire sum collected from railroads in 1870 amounted to \$186,722.04. The property upon which this tax was paid was estimated by the state treasurer to be worth \$75,000,000. Had the assessment corresponded with that of other property, the valuation for revenue purposes would have been fixed at about \$30,000,000. Thus the tax obtained from railroads was equal to about 6¼ mills, while the average tax throughout the state during the same year was approximately 30 mills, or about five times that paid by railroads. Again in the next session, in 1872, the law was revised so that the assessment was to be made on property value, and the tax rate was to be the same as that on the property of individuals. Yet, under this law, according to the Railroad Commissioners' Report covering 1877, the railroad tax was about 5.73 per cent of the entire tax levy of the state. If the assessment of railroad property had been on the same principle of valuation applicable to all other property, reported the Commissioners, the ratio would have been about 10 per cent.²⁷

But even as the people of Iowa exerted themselves to remove safeguards of their own making from the public purse in order to help their friend and benefactor, the railroad, they were troubled by the misgivings that had always occupied a place in the background of the railroad furor. Railroads clearly were capable of bringing great benefits, but also, conceivably, of working much mischief. Adding to the perplexity of trying to decide what protective measures, if any, should be applied, was the realization that much of the leadership and financing necessary to build them would have to come from capital outside the state. And "Capitalists," as Jonathan C. Hall had remarked in the convention of 1857, were "jealous and timid";

. . . if they see the least possibility of a construction to be given to our laws, which will defeat the purposes which they have in view in lending their aid to internal improvements, they will be slow to engage in any enterprises of this kind; and the result will be that our good and noble system of internal improvements will be checked in its progress.²⁸

²⁷ *Laws of Iowa*, 1862, Ch. 173; 1868, Ch. 196; 1870, Ch. 106; 1872, Ch. 26; second biennial message of Governor Samuel Merrill, January 10, 1872, in Benj. F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* . . . (7 vols., Iowa City, 1903), 3:69; Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, Iowa, 1878, p. 69. For bonds and 5 per cent tax aid, see Beard, "Local Aid to Railroads . . .," *passim*.

²⁸ *Debates of the Constitutional Convention* . . ., 1:156.

This consideration carried great weight with a House committee appointed during the session of 1864 to investigate the advisability of resuming lands previously granted to the Dubuque & Sioux City Railroad. The committee reported that the contemplated action would be unwise because it "would be construed into one of hostility by the monied men elsewhere, who are supplying these companies with means to extend their lines, and without whose aid it is well known they cannot go on." While other states (Kansas and Missouri) were encouraging railroads through friendly legislation, continued the committee, "we cannot see any good reason why we in Iowa should . . . retard the prosperity of our State and the welfare of our people for all time to come."²⁹

The problem, then, was a delicate one. Controls, if there were to be any, had to be devised and placed in effect before railroads became too well entrenched, but it was important that they rest lightly lest the all-important financial backers be frightened away. Governor William M. Stone perhaps had something of this dilemma in mind when he composed a message to the House of Representatives in 1864.

Time need not be consumed in endeavoring to impress upon your minds the importance and utility of railroads, in promoting the welfare of our State. Sound policy requires that we should keep this steadily in view, and resist all demands for such measures as are calculated, in their results, to seriously impede the progress of our railroad enterprises. Yet, imperative as these considerations are, we should not overlook the importance of imposing suitable restrictions upon these monopolies, and require of them strict accountability, and a faithful performance of their legal obligations.³⁰

Perhaps the clearest expression of the desire to exercise some caution without alarming the builders was the action of the legislature. In response to Governor Grimes's suggestion, a clause reserving to the state the right to enact future "rules and regulations" binding upon the companies had been incorporated in the bill distributing the land grant of 1856.³¹ This clause was inserted in every law distributing or redistributing lands until 1868. Strictly interpreted, from the legislative point of view, a railroad

²⁹ *House Journal*, 1864, 331.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 199.

³¹ *Laws of Iowa (Extra Session)*, 1856, Ch. 1; 1858, Ch. 99; 1860, Ch. 37; 1866, Ch. 134.

company's acceptance of a land grant under the terms of such a law had the effect of establishing the regulative principle on a contractual basis between the company and the state. Ostensibly this removed from the company any protection against regulation that it might otherwise have enjoyed under the decision of the Dartmouth College Case, whatever its application to corporations chartered under general laws.

It may be asked why the railroads were willing to accept such a reservation. A part of the answer undoubtedly lay in the land grants themselves. Their immediate value loomed much larger than the indistinct disadvantage of any future restriction. Then, too, in keeping with the practice of avoiding actions that might seem to jeopardize profits, the General Assembly was careful to apply only the mildest restraints. To reduce the possibility of conflicts that might inure to the injury of the public, intersecting railroads, or those whose lines joined, were placed under legal obligation to draw each other's cars at the "ordinary" rates. Certain officers of each company were required to reside within the state, and financial records were to be available for inspection at any reasonable time. Companies were obliged to submit annual reports containing information on such items as expenditures, gross receipts, profits, dividends, and building progress made during the year. It was also provided that rate schedules, which were to be posted at a certain time each year, were not to be exceeded during the ensuing year. Railroads failing to fence their right-of-way were made liable for the injury or destruction of livestock pastured in adjoining fields. Finally, in 1866, railroads were assigned the full liabilities of common carriers. The fact that no truly effective enforcement machinery was provided for these rules meant that the railroads could, with relative impunity, ignore features of the laws that seemed to them undesirable.³²

It would be difficult to fix with precision the time at which any significant body of opinion within the state began to favor positive regulation in the form of legislation establishing maximum rates. A House resolution adopted during the regular session of the General Assembly in 1864 instructed the committee on railroads to inquire into the expediency of such regulation, but there is no record of such a report being made.³³ This, together with

³² *Ibid.*, 1862, Chs. 158, 159, 169; 1866, Ch. 113. Governor Samuel Merrill complained in 1872 that the companies were not obeying the regulations and recommended that the legislature appoint an enforcement officer. Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations . . .*, 3:367-8.

³³ *House Journal*, 1864, 145.

the fact that no formal attempt was made to revive the subject before the end of the session, suggests that there was not a great deal of pressure behind it. Freight charges were high over those portions of the roads completed in the eastern counties, but the war was still in progress and prices were the highest Iowans had ever received for their products.

Within the next two years conditions changed considerably, as the end of the war brought a precipitous drop in prices. Corn, for example, which had sold in the Iowa market at an average price of 70 cents a bushel in 1864 brought 50 cents in 1865 and 31 cents in 1866. Oats sold for 53 cents in 1864, 33 cents a year later, and 24 cents by 1866. Wheat dropped from \$1.18 in 1864 to \$1.01 in 1865.³⁴ Freight rates, meanwhile, remained about the same or declined slightly. There was, however, no general decrease in rates commensurate with the lowered market prices. As farmers saw their profits dwindling, they also felt the effects of other factors contributing to the depression of their economic status; but railroads, being more immediately at hand, received a major share of the blame. High freight rates were easier to grasp than the mysterious, far distant factors affecting prices.

During 1865, in the railroad areas, the question of legislative restriction on freight charges became an absorbing topic, petitions for a regulatory law being circulated in several counties. When the General Assembly met early in 1866, nineteen of these were presented in the House. On the motion of L. Clark, representative from Tama County, a resolution was adopted calling on Attorney General F. E. Bissell for an opinion concerning the power of the legislature to regulate railroad rates. Bissell replied that the legislature possessed no such power! The charter of a private corporation, he ruled, was a contract between the state and the corporation, whether the latter was formed under a special charter or under a general law. True, corporations were creatures of the law, and the legislature possessed unlimited power, within the constitution, to give as much or as little power as it pleased in the original charter. Corporators, of course, were free to accept or reject charters as offered, but when an acceptance took place the contract was complete. After that the introduction of any new condition foreign to the original contract constituted an impairment of

³⁴ Prices of agricultural products, unless otherwise noted, are taken from tables and graphs in Norman V. Strand, "Prices of Farm Products in Iowa, 1851-1940," Iowa State College Agricultural Experiment Station, *Research Bulletin No. 303* (May, 1942), 938-54.

the obligation of contracts, which was contrary to the constitutions of Iowa and the United States. The clause in the land grant laws reserving to the legislature the right to make "rules and regulations" Bissell interpreted as giving only the authority to see that the lands were used for the purpose intended and to insure the safety of the public. "There are," he said, "no special privileges granted in this state. The field of competition is open to the world."³⁵

Bissell's narrow interpretation of the rules and regulation clause aroused a wave of indignation from those who favored rate regulation. N. H. Brainerd, editor of the *Iowa City Republican*, branded the Attorney General's statement "a strange opinion and one that the roads can afford to pay high for."³⁶ Whether the full implications of Brainerd's remarks were justified would be difficult to determine. It was probably true that Bissell's previous position in private life as president of the Dubuque, St. Paul & St. Peters Railroad Company inspired little confidence in the likelihood of his taking an unbiased stand on the regulation question.³⁷ A widespread rejection of his interpretation was revealed by subsequent events.

Probably more acceptable to some Iowans were the ideas contained in a message from Governor Stone to the Senate about a month after the Bissell report. "It will be difficult," he wrote, "to convince the people of Iowa by any subtlety of technical deduction, that they have parted with the power of ultimate control over the railroad companies within their state. . . . They have become so far invested with a public character as to subject them to legislative control, for all purposes dictated by sound policy and the public interest."³⁸ Within eleven years his words would be echoed, in principle, by Chief Justice Waite's opinion in *Munn v. Illinois*.

Legislative defiance of the Bissell opinion was not long in coming. After his letter had been received by the House of Representatives, a resolution was introduced stating "That in the opinion of the House, the General Assembly of the State of Iowa possesses the rightful constitutional authority to regulate the fare for freight and passengers on the railways within the state." An amendment was offered, adding to the original resolution the

³⁵ *House Journal*, 1866, 88, 124-9, 159, 177, 212, 252, 517.

³⁶ *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 7, 1866.

³⁷ Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa* . . . (Des Moines, 1916), 827-9.

³⁸ Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations* . . . , 3:185-6.

words, "but it is inexpedient to exercise that right at this time." The resolution as amended was voted upon and defeated, 31 to 55. The original resolution was then brought to a vote and passed, 75 to 13.³⁹ An analysis of the voting reveals that all except two of the Representatives who voted against the original resolution had previously voted in favor of the resolution with amendment added, indicating that members of the House, in 1866, almost unanimously agreed that the state did possess legal authority to regulate rates. Disagreement came over the question of whether or not it was expedient to do so. Apparently the same consideration was decisive in determining the vote on a House bill that actually would have limited railroad charges. The measure passed, 59 to 32, the greater part of the opposition coming from those who had voted in favor of the amended resolution. This bid for regulation met disaster in the Senate when a substitute for the House bill was tabled by a close vote of 19 to 18.⁴⁰

This experience of the legislature with railroad regulation traced out a pattern that remained fairly constant until 1874. In each session regulatory bills were introduced and, with the exception of 1868, passed in the House, usually over the opposition of fairly cohesive blocks of votes representing a particular section, or a combination of several localities. In the Senate, with its much smaller membership, these bills, or substitutes for them, were defeated, always by small margins. Senators, perhaps because of their election to four-year terms, were less responsive to sudden shifts in local opinion. Generally, however, members of the upper and lower houses representing any given section tended to vote on the same side of the issue, although this was not invariably the case, and in some instances it is not possible to determine the correspondence with any degree of definitude. Senatorial districts, especially in the west and north, were necessarily quite large, often including several House districts. And while only a very few of the more thickly populated Senatorial districts ever elected more than one Senator, House districts not infrequently were apportioned two or even three Representatives. At times some of the districts extended over two or more localities whose attitudes toward specific regulatory proposals were at variance with each other. Finally, there were always legislators whose voting records on railroad matters defy correlation with any criteria that appear on the surface. The picture that emerges, though badly blurred in

³⁹ *House Journal*, 1866, 290, 357-8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 762-4; *Senate Journal*, 1866, 540, 661.

spots, does emphasize the opportunistic nature of the over-all approach to the problem of a state railroad policy. At a given time, the viewpoint prevailing in any particular section seems to have depended upon any one or a combination of the following factors: the business policies of the companies, the level of market prices for farm products, and the status of actual construction within the section.

At the beginning of 1866, for example, when agricultural prices were low and none of the main lines had progressed west of the Des Moines River, sentiment favoring regulation was stronger in the eastern part of the state than in any other. Not only did people of the east consider rates too high; they were indignant also because rate schedules discriminated against shipments consigned only so far as the river boat landings on the Mississippi. While the regulatory bill was under consideration in the House in 1866, agents representing the businessmen of Muscatine visited Des Moines to cite examples of discrimination. It was said that the charge for a hundred pounds of wheat from Iowa City to Muscatine, a distance of 41 miles, was 22 cents; from Iowa City to Chicago, 235 miles, the charge for the same weight was 29 cents. From Washington to Muscatine, 37 miles, the rate was 22 cents per hundred; from Washington to Chicago, 257 miles, 21 to 27 cents. A hundred-pound shipment over the 107 miles between Grinnell and Muscatine was said to be 40 cents; from Grinnell to Chicago, 301 miles, 28 to 37 cents.⁴¹ By maintaining rates such as these, railroads were able to channel shipments originating any appreciable distance west of the river into Chicago over the Illinois divisions of their lines. In doing so they aroused the ire of the steamboat interests and that of shippers who, in the face of high rates, would have contented themselves with the slower, but far cheaper, river transportation. About a year later, with discrimination still in effect, the river boat rate on grain, between Muscatine and St. Louis, was quoted at 15 cents per hundred pounds.⁴²

A widely discussed remedy for discrimination, especially emphasized after the failure of the General Assembly to enact regulatory legislation in 1866, was the building of north-south competing lines. Roads to the south, it was argued, would provide Iowans with a choice of markets and thus place them in a better bargaining position with regard to the trunk lines

⁴¹ Burlington *Weekly Hawkeye*, March 24, 31, 1866.

⁴² Rates quoted by Muscatine *Journal*, reprinted in Iowa City *Republican*, May 1, 1865.

converging at Chicago.⁴³ Competition, many believed, might yet function as a regulator of rates if conditions could be arranged in such a way that railroads would be forced to compete. Citizens of river towns, however, usually found little appeal in the prospect of new lines whose effect could only be to depress further the importance of the Mississippi as an artery of commerce. They continued to urge the necessity of an anti-discrimination law.

During the next two years, significant changes again took place in conditions affecting railroad affairs. Spurred on by the desire for a profitable connection with the Union Pacific at Council Bluffs or Omaha, the east-west railroads began to push their lines forward with more energy than they had ever before displayed. By January, 1868, all except those hopelessly bogged down in financial difficulties had built west of the Des Moines River or were making vigorous plans to do so. Mileage completed in Iowa before the end of 1867 was reported at 1,283. Earlier in the year the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River line had been built into Council Bluffs, giving the state its first continuous railroad from Chicago to the western border. During 1866-1867, 392 miles of track had been laid, more than had ever been constructed in the state in any previous two-year period. Along with the quickened tempo of railroad construction had come partial recovery from the immediate postwar slump in market prices. The price of corn had risen from an average of 31 cents in 1866 to 61 in 1867; oats, from 24 to 47; and wheat, from \$1.17 to \$1.57.

Improved prospects for better times seemed to generate a feeling of optimism which was reflected in the transactions of the General Assembly when it convened in 1868. Sentiment favoring the establishment of maximum rates was by no means absent, but the demand for such regulation was not so great as it had been two years earlier. Whatever the factors involved, petitions for regulation were outnumbered by remonstrances against regulation of unfinished lines. Two maximum rate bills were introduced, one each in the House and Senate, but neither progressed far enough to be voted upon in final form. A bill to outlaw discrimination, offered in the House by Samuel McNutt of Muscatine County, received stronger support, particularly from Representatives of the eastern river counties, though

⁴³ For letters, editorials, and reports of public meetings in the interests of north-south lines, in this case, the Burlington & Cedar Rapids and the Iowa North Central, see the *Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 17, Feb. 14, 21, May 2, 9, 23, 30, June 13, 20, 27, July 4, Sept. 5, Nov. 1, 7, 21, Dec. 5, 19, 26, 1866.

eventually it too was shelved.⁴⁴ Proponents of the McNutt bill, and those who favored other forms of regulation, finally were persuaded to rally behind a move to attach new conditions to the land grants. Indeed, a major portion of the time devoted to railroad matters was taken up in considering the resumption of land grants from defunct companies and the regranting of them to firms offering more certain assurances of success.

Before the end of the session, the disposition of the land subsidies was considerably revised. Altogether, four grants were resumed and then re-granted to new companies (in one case to the same company) subject to a new condition. The grants were made conditionally upon the companies' acceptance of a clause reserving to the legislature the right to prescribe "rules, regulations, and rates of tariff for the transportation of freight and passengers." This was the so-called Doud Amendment, proposed by Elias Doud of Van Buren County. When offered in the Senate as part of the Rock Island grant, it was accepted by a vote of 34 to 8. In the House it carried without a dissenting vote.⁴⁵ Here again was a gesture in the direction of protection—short of actual regulation. It was also clearly an attempt to meet Bissell's interpretation of the reservation of authority in the original land grant law as not extending to the determination of rates. By placing the question "beyond cavil" it was hoped that the railroads would recognize the wisdom of maintaining, voluntarily, rates that were "just and equitable" to all concerned.

Of the companies affected by the Doud Amendment, only the Iowa Falls & Sioux City wholly withheld its acceptance for any extended period of time. With every appearance of finality, W. W. Walker, representing John I. Blair, New Jersey financier and president of the company, announced that no track would be laid until the tariff reservation had been removed. This was in April, not long after the action of the legislature had taken place. In July, Blair himself traveled over the projected route from Cedar Falls through Fort Dodge to Sioux City, solemnly warning that there would be no railroad so long as the "suicidal tariff restriction" remained.⁴⁶

People of towns along the proposed line now became alarmed, feeling that perhaps the legislature had gone too far. The lingering fear of alien-

⁴⁴ *House Journal*, 1868, 116, 263, 364, 379, 490; *Senate Journal*, 1868, 227, 283.

⁴⁵ *Laws of Iowa*, 1868, Chs. 13, 16, 26, 57, 58, 124; *House Journal*, 1868, 214-15; *Senate Journal*, 1868, 122, 146; *Fort Dodge Iowa North West*, Feb. 26, 1868.

⁴⁶ *Webster City Hamilton Freeman*, April 22, 1868; *Fort Dodge Iowa North West*, June 10, July 22, Aug. 19, 1868.

ating eastern capital, ever near the surface, came quickly to the fore. Public meetings were held at Sioux City, Spirit Lake, Webster City, and Fort Dodge to initiate a movement which it was hoped would lead to repeal of the Doud Amendment. A plan was evolved to persuade the governor to call a special session of the legislature for that purpose. To coordinate efforts, a committee was appointed consisting of prominent men from Sioux City, Fort Dodge, and Webster City.⁴⁷ All its members were influential figures in the northwestern part of the state, especially B. F. Gue, newspaper editor and retiring lieutenant governor, and C. C. Carpenter, who was to become governor in 1872. A letter prepared and sent out to members of the legislature over the signatures of the committee solicited support for the desired repeal.⁴⁸ Despite this and other appeals by the committee, newspaper agitation, and occasional outbursts from the company, Governor Samuel Merrill did not call a special session. The Amendment remained in force. Early in 1869, the Iowa Falls & Sioux City officials conceded defeat and applied for renewal of the grant, giving satisfactory assurances of their willingness to comply with all the requirements of the original act. The Census Board, which had been given jurisdiction over the lands, received the request favorably, the lands were granted, and work went forward. The company had found it difficult to forego a land subsidy of 640,496 acres.

The railroad capitulation was reassuring, but the people of the northern and northwestern parts of Iowa had received a bad scare and one not easily forgotten. At the height of the agitation for repeal of the rate reservation it had frequently been charged that the more populous sections, i. e., the eastern, central, and, to a lesser extent, the southern counties, having all the railroads they needed or desired, had pushed through the Doud Amendment with calloused disregard for the interests of the less developed areas. While this claim touched somewhere near the heart of the matter, it ignored the fact that there had been very little opposition to the amendment at the time of its enactment. Actually it had been a compromise, possibly the only one upon which all, or nearly all, could have agreed. More exasperated because of longer experience with railroad operations, and less fearful of

⁴⁷ Fort Dodge *Iowa North West*, Aug. 19, Sept. 19, 1868. In the Aug. 19 issue were published letters from George W. Jones, formerly United States Senator from Iowa, and Thos. Sargent, partner of Rock Island director Ebenezer Cook, urging repeal.

⁴⁸ Copy of letter dated August 19, 1868, at Webster City, in *Cyrus Clay Carpenter Papers* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City).

stepping on capital's toes, since the east-west lines had been completed through their areas, the extreme eastern counties would have preferred an anti-discrimination law, the central counties, with some exceptions, maximum rate provisions. At the same time the northern and northwestern sections would have been pleased, for the nonce, had no action been taken. Their mistake in supporting the compromise had been one of underestimating the reaction of the railroads — whose response had awakened fears that construction in the future would be seriously curtailed. "The attention of capitalists," editorialized the *Hamilton Freeman*, "was turned in this direction as the most promising field in which to invest their vast accumulations in constructing railroads." But unfortunately they were informed by the "Tariff Clause" that:

If you dare to invest another dollar in extending railroads in Iowa, we, the Legislature will step in and fix the rates you may charge for carrying freights and passengers at just such price as suits us — you shall have nothing to say about it. Does any sane man suppose that with such a threat hanging over their heads, eastern capitalists, non-residents of our state, are going to force their money upon us at such interest as we may at any time see fit to pay?

If the river towns were permitted to achieve their real desire, an anti-discrimination law, the results would be equally disastrous. The companies would either have to give up all short hauls or raise through rates so high that "the railroad would be of no use to people who desired to ship over the whole length of the road."⁴⁹

In many parts of the northwest, apprehension over retrenchment in the building program was largely dispelled by railroad progress made during the next few years. With completion of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific in 1869, Iowa became an important link in the eagerly awaited rail connection between the East and the Far West. Anticipating this situation, all of the state's east-west lines pressed forward as quickly as possible to the Missouri River, the last to arrive being the Burlington & Missouri River, which reached Council Bluffs in January, 1870. Meanwhile there was little idleness among the builders of feeder lines and of the more ambitious roads projected south to St. Louis and north to Milwaukee or St. Paul. By 1870,

⁴⁹ Articles entitled "Outrage Upon Northern Iowa" in Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, April 22, July 8, 1868; Council Bluffs *Bugle*, April 2, 1868; and letters and editorial comment cited in footnotes 45 and 46.

nine of these railroads had been completed or were nearing completion.⁵⁰ As the year 1869 drew to a close, the railroad mileage figure for the state was 2,683.

As one result of the accelerated pace of construction, the town of Fort Dodge found itself served by two railroads, the Iowa Falls & Sioux City and an extension of the Des Moines Valley. People in and around the town now began to see the rate problem in a new light. A petition to the General Assembly for regulation, circulated in the vicinity late in 1869 by an agent of Dubuque, received many signatures. Gradually reversing its position of 1868, Gue's influential paper, *The Iowa North West*, began to adopt a firm tone with railroads thought to be guilty of arrogance and unfair rates.⁵¹ North and west of Webster County, however, counties still almost totally without rail connections continued to look with suspicion upon suggestions for railroad control. Farther east, in the middle of the state, Marshalltown, which had not yet been successful in securing an extension of the Iowa Central south to Ottumwa, saw the matter similarly. Arguments against regulation presented by the newspaper there were a repetition of those popular throughout the northwest a year or two earlier. It was said that the river towns, in seeking regulation, were consulting only their own interests, which were inimical to those of the state as a whole. The true solution was not regulation; it was the construction of more railroads. And these would never materialize if profits were threatened by unfriendly legislation.⁵²

Thus, in 1870, as the legislature found itself in the midst of its biennial struggle over railroad problems, attitudes toward regulation, as in the past, appear to have been closely geared to local conditions. By and large, the weight of opinion probably was on the side of regulation, but lacking as usual was any close agreement on the method to be employed. In the House, after numerous committee hearings and protracted debate on the floor, three bills were passed, regulating freight rates and passenger fares and creating a board of railroad commissioners. All of these were blocked in the Senate by close votes. The Senate also defeated several bills of similar intent introduced by its own members. Perhaps the critical point of the

⁵⁰ Review of railroad progress in first biennial message of Governor Samuel Merrill, January 11, 1870, Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations* . . . , 3:308.

⁵¹ Fort Dodge *Iowa North West*, Dec. 30, 1869; April 7, 21, 1870.

⁵² Marshalltown *Marshall County Times*, Jan. 6, March 24, 31, 1870.

session came when a regulatory bill introduced in the Senate by M. B. Mulkern of Dubuque was lost by a vote of 21 to 20. Prominent among those voting against regulation, both in House and Senate, were representatives of the extreme north and west. They were joined by scattered votes from nearly all parts of the state.⁵³

Two years later, in 1872, as members of the General Assembly again gathered in Des Moines, it seemed to many that regulation would surely be accomplished before the end of the session. Both the newly elected governor, Cyrus Clay Carpenter, and the retiring governor, Samuel Merrill, had recommended restrictive legislation.⁵⁴ In addition, prices, which had been steadily declining since 1868-1869, were still falling with no immediate prospect of a levelling-off. Since 1870 letters from farmers, complaining bitterly of low prices and high rates, had become regular features of local newspapers. Another significant development was the increasing disillusionment of those who had placed faith in the north-south competing routes as checks upon rates. As these lines were completed and placed in operation, people learned that normally only points of actual intersection derived the benefit of competitive rates. Intermediate stations, grimly enough, were often made to assume the additional burden of compensating for reduced earnings resulting from lowered rates at competitive points. On the western edge of the state, the main lines to Chicago divided business and profits according to previous agreement, thus effectively nullifying any law of competition that might have governed rates on through shipments. This was the notorious "Iowa Pool" or "Omaha Pool" which went into operation in 1870. In the interior of Iowa, through the sections traversed by their lines, the pool members charged about what the traffic would bear.⁵⁵ Resentment of railroad practices was unquestionably greater in 1872 than it had ever been before. Yet the session passed without the enactment of a regulatory law.

Essentially the failure to enact regulatory legislation was the failure to draft a bill acceptable to a majority of the factions represented. Sufficient support of the principle of regulation itself was not lacking. On the other

⁵³ *House Journal*, 1870, 141, 218, 241, 381, 400, 401, 428, 429, 434, 435, 436, 440, 441, 442-3; *Senate Journal*, 1870, 42, 71, 122, 163-4, 362, 465, 482, 615.

⁵⁴ Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations* . . . , 4:22.

⁵⁵ Robert E. Riegel, "The Omaha Pool," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 22:569-82 (October, 1924). A new and objective study of the Iowa Pool is Julius Grodinsky, *The Iowa Pool* . . . (Chicago, 1950).

hand there was little disposition to be punitive or vindictive. Most of the legislators desired only that railroads should be made to function in the manner in which it was thought railroads should function. It was understood that crippling the roads would benefit no one. At this point the truly enormous problem of fixing freight rates for all articles over roads unlike in cost of construction and operation, earnings, and type of business was superimposed upon the familiar sectional or regional differences. Disagreements between competitive and noncompetitive points played a vital part. It was said later that a rate bill known as the O'Donnell bill, which passed in the House, might have been approved by the Senate had it not been amended so as to enforce fixed rates at competitive points enjoying rates lower than those in the proposed schedule.⁵⁶

Both during the session and after its adjournment there was considerable bitterness over the presence of railroad lobbyists in Des Moines and their apparent success in guiding railroad legislation.⁵⁷ It was not the first time such complaints had been made, for it had long been known that railroads operating in the state maintained agents at the capital whose function it was to secure advantageous legislation and ward off unfriendly laws. Prior to about 1866, efforts of the railroad lobbyists seem to have been directed mainly to obtaining favorable consideration for their various employers whenever land grants were distributed. At first relatively few complaints were heard about their activities, since there was a tendency to feel that constitutional prohibition of special charters provided protection against favoritism to private companies. Thus as late as 1860 a correspondent at the capital was able to assure the readers of his newspaper that: "The wise provision of our Constitution prohibiting special legislation, when general laws can be made to reach the case, cuts off much—I may say the greater part of the business of the 'Third House.'"⁵⁸ By 1862, however, there had begun to be far less certainty on this point. While several land grant resumption bills were under consideration in the House, a writer reported that the actions of the railroad committee smacked strongly of corruption. Its recommendations were said to "have an odor of good whiskey

⁵⁶ *Iowa City Daily Press*, Feb. 14, 1873.

⁵⁷ *Ottumwa Courier*, Feb. 1, 1872; *Keokuk Weekly Gate City*, Feb. 19, 1873; *Indianola Warren County Leader*, April 17, 1873; *Iowa City Daily Press*, Feb. 7, 14, 1873.

⁵⁸ "Capitol Correspondence" of "Styx" in *Burlington Weekly Hawkeye*, Jan. 14, 1860.

and the metallic influence which changes the opinion of men so suddenly.
 . . . "59

Perhaps the first real test of lobby strength came in 1866 when the representatives of several companies joined forces to oppose the first serious attempt at regulation. The apparent effectiveness of the coalition may have surprised even the railroads. Certainly some of the other observers gained a fuller appreciation of the lobby's tactics and strength. A newspaperman gave it as his opinion that:

If those in favor of protecting the rights of the people could agree upon a course to be pursued, there is no question about their power in the House to cope with these monopolies. But the R. R. managers are old stagers, and it is nearly useless for green horns to measure their strength with them, for by supreme tactics, they are pretty sure to be worsted. The monopolists act as a unit, while they leave no stone unturned to divide and conquer their opponents.⁶⁰

From this time on, judging from newspaper comments, the railroads were acutely aware of the danger of rate regulation and sent their most experienced men to the capital at the beginning of each session of the General Assembly. That they were competent men was admitted by various members of the legislature, even those who fought hardest to push through regulation bills. A writer identifying himself as a former member of the legislature described the railroad lobbyists as:

. . . the sharpest shrewdest men the corporations can find; perfect gentlemen, men who stand high in the State. They are paid by the year, and to defeat railroad legislation is their business — perfectly legitimate; they are not to blame that they do their work too well for the farmer.⁶¹

Conceding that the lobbyists may have been skillful and that they worked diligently in pursuit of their objectives, there is, nevertheless, some reason to feel that until 1872 their task was not particularly difficult. Ap-

⁵⁹ Article signed "Chapin" in *Marshalltown Marshall County Times*, March 26, 1862.

⁶⁰ "Letter from Des Moines" signed "N.B.N." in *Burlington Weekly Hawkeye*, March 31, 1866.

⁶¹ Letter signed "Old Settler" in *Iowa Homestead*, 17:162 (May 9, 1872). For other comments on the lobbyists see *Fort Dodge Iowa North West*, April 21, 1870; *Ottumwa Courier*, March 10, 1870; *Marshalltown Times*, March 17, 1870.

plication of the "divide and rule" technique was comparatively easy so long as disagreement and discord existed among the legislators themselves. It is worth noting, in this connection, that attacks on the lobbyists came predominantly from areas in which people had acquired railroads and had begun to clamor for regulation.

Though it had not been clear as the General Assembly adjourned in the spring of 1872, public opinion in all parts of the state was nearing a stage in which it would consolidate as a decisive influence for regulation. Basic to the rapidly approaching unity was a growing resentment of the public favors that had been given to railroads. In the past, the deterrent to any sustained program of action expressive of this feeling had been the supposed immense benefits to be derived from railroads, together with the continuing hope of acquiring them. Revision of these attitudes had been a patchwork, piecemeal process because railroad expansion itself had been uneven and unplanned. Some sections, receiving rail connections long before others, had become convinced at an earlier time that the new means of transport could not, or would not, fulfill its golden promise. The people of outlying sections tended to arrive at about the same conclusion when, with the advance of construction, they too were brought within the railroad network. Considering the size of the state, this network was fairly extensive by 1873. No large area was then completely without railroads, although not all localities and certainly not every town desiring railroad facilities had been able to obtain them by that time. Many had done so, surely, during the two years between 1870 and 1872. In that period 960 miles of railroad were built, bringing the state's total mileage to 3,643; but at this point construction in Iowa came to a virtual standstill. Eighty-five miles were added in 1873; in the following year the number dwindled to 34. As the chances of further extension grew dim, latent fears of dominant monopolism were freed from the restraining influence formerly exercised by appeals to community and individual welfare. Meanwhile, corn, the state's basic commodity, was being burned in many places as a cheaper fuel than wood.⁶²

Thus, against the harsh reality of plunging prices beginning in the late sixties, relatively inflexible rates, and continued rate discrimination, it was becoming easier for an increasing number of people to recall that lenient

⁶² Or so claimed the *Webster City Hamilton Freeman*, Jan. 15, 1873, which quoted a price of 10 to 20 cents in many parts of Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Missouri. The Strand study (see footnote 34) indicates an average price for Iowa of 27 cents in 1873.

taxation policies, gifts of public land and tax money, and public investment in railroad stocks actually represented special favors conferred upon associations of private individuals. Past failures of the legislature to tax railroads equally with other forms of property and to fix maximum freight rates took on a sinister aspect as it began to seem that through preferential treatment, not accorded the ordinary citizen, railroads had become vast monopolies, powerful enough to insist upon a continuing flow of privileges and to defy efforts of the people to control them by legislative action. A petition from citizens of Bremer County in 1870 asserted that the railroads had "induced the legislature of this State, in past years, to grant them special privileges and exemptions derogatory to the principles of equality and republicanism, upon which this government is established. . . ." The petition went on to plead for a return to the old principles of "equal and exact justice to all" and no special privileges for any "class of individuals, or combination of individuals."⁶³ Letters and editorials appearing in newspapers over the state gradually took up this refrain. They demanded that railroad rates be controlled and that gifts of land and favorable taxation be discontinued. "The greatest danger that threatens this country," declared *A Voter*, "is the growing tendency towards creating and building up monopolies sufficiently rich and powerful to control all the legislation of any consequence in the United States."⁶⁴ The remedy, as another saw it, was to send men to the legislature "whom we know to be right on this question — men who have back bone stiff enough to stand up to the rack and with ability enough to carry out what the people want."⁶⁵ Only by this means would the principle of equal rights be restored, and full control of the government be returned to its rightful place in the hands of the people.

Well before the end of 1873 anti-railroad sentiment in Iowa, as in other Midwestern states, had become identified with the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, or as it was popularly known, the Grange. The movement had started slowly in Iowa, gaining momentum in 1871 when a state organiza-

⁶³ *House Journal*, 1870, 113-14.

⁶⁴ Letter appearing in the Fort Dodge *Iowa North West*, April 6, 1871. For other protests against land grants, lenient taxation, and railroad influence in government, see *ibid.*, April 7, June 9, 16, Nov. 3, Dec. 15, 1870; March 2, 30, 1871; *Jefferson Era*, April 7, 1871; *Indianola Warren County Leader*, Dec. 19, 1872; *Monroe South Side Transcript*, Jan. 7, 1873; *Keokuk Weekly Gate City*, Jan. 1, 1873; *Newton Free Press*, Feb. 26, 1873; *Iowa Homestead*, 15:1 (April 8, 1870), 18:124 (April 18, 1873).

⁶⁵ *Iowa Homestead*, 17:162 (May 24, 1872).

tion was formed. Oliver H. Kelley, founder of the Order, had envisioned it as a means of bringing social and educational advantages to farming people in all parts of the nation, but he had early recognized the expediency of appealing to farmers on the basis of economic betterment. With his approval cooperative buying, selling, and manufacturing were carried on as integral parts of the Grange program.⁶⁶ Willingness to participate in these projects reflected the farmers' deep discontent with their position in the nation's economic and social structure. The Grange, it was said, afforded an opportunity to "an oppressed people to throw off the shackles which bind them, and to occupy the position in the social scale which God and nature intended."⁶⁷

Essentially, on its economic side, the Grange offered an institutional framework to support a revitalization of the old agricultural hostility toward financial and commercial capitalism. It was firmly believed that because they had not been alert to the necessity of protecting their own interests, the farmers, the real producers of wealth, had come to be at the mercy of "selfish, grasping monopolistic" combinations. "The time has come," said A. B. Smedley, Master of the State Grange, "when we in our free Republican country are cursed by a system of special rights, special privileges, special powers, and monopolies of cliques and rings." Among these, the worst offenders were thought to be "these monster monied monopolies," the railroads. A book written by a former attorney general of the state, David C. Cloud, and published in 1873, contained a lengthy statement of the farmer-laborer grievances against railroads and other forms of capital and business enterprise. Stripped of its ranting and excess verbiage, the book was an excellent restatement of the view that had been popular among Democrats in Iowa's first constitutional convention. Cloud inveighed bitterly against the unholy alliance between unscrupulous businessmen, including the "gold gamblers of Wall Street," and government at all levels. Their machinations, he argued, mocked the principle of equal rights, robbed the farmers and laborers of their rightful share in the wealth created by their own toil, and made a travesty of any pretensions to true democratic government. The book was dedicated to the Patrons of Hus-

⁶⁶ Mildred Throne, "The Grange in Iowa, 1868-1875," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 47:8-24 (October, 1949).

⁶⁷ Letter from R. M. Downer in *Iowa Homestead*, 18:5 (January 3, 1873). Expressions in a similar vein appeared in *ibid.*, 18:85 (March 14, 1873); *Iowa City Daily Press*, March 13, 1873; *Indianola Warren County Leader*, April 3, 17, 1873.

bandry, "Who have become the pioneer corps in the efforts being made to reform the abuses now oppressing the country, and who are earnestly laboring for the restoration of the rights of the people. . . ." ⁶⁸

Though thoroughly aroused by 1873, the Grange was limited in the action it could take. The state organization could, and did, exert some pressure, but the Patrons, as an order, were forbidden by their constitution to take part in politics. In their zeal, some Grangers defied the rules of the Order by sponsoring county conventions to agitate for the nomination of "producers" for state offices to be filled in the fall election. Partially as a result of this activity, the Anti-Monopoly party was formed at a convention held in Des Moines in August. The convention was made up both of Democrats and Republicans, many of whom were Grangers. John P. Irish, chairman of the State Democratic Committee, took a leading part. Jacob G. Vale, a farmer and formerly a Republican, became the Anti-Monopolist nominee for governor on a platform advocating legislative control of corporations, with special emphasis upon the necessity of a law fixing maximum freight rates for railroads. In the course of the campaign, Irish, who was editor of the *Iowa City Press*, informed his readers that "the anti monopoly platform contains the germinal theories of Democracy." ⁶⁹

Two months before the new party was formed, the Republicans had held their state convention and renominated C. C. Carpenter for another term as governor. Carpenter, by this time, had become a member of the Grange. As their candidate for lieutenant governor, the Republicans seriously considered a prominent Granger, Dudley W. Adams, but the nomination eventually went to Joseph Dysart. ⁷⁰ Their platform called for "legislative enactments that will control and regulate the railroads of the country, and give to the people fair rates of transportation." Never previously had the Republicans of Iowa, as a party, come out flatly for the regulation of rates; for

⁶⁸ D. C. Cloud, *Monopolies and the People* (Davenport, Iowa, 1873), Introduction and Chs. 8-17; Smedley's comment came in a speech before a meeting of the State Grange in Des Moines, December 9, 1873. *Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Session of the Iowa State Grange, 1873*, 28.

⁶⁹ Throne, "The Grange in Iowa, 1868-1875," 26-8, cites the remark of John P. Irish, and describes the background and organization of the Anti-Monopoly party. See also Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War . . .* (Iowa City, 1916), 70. The Anti-Monopoly party platform is in Herbert S. Fairall (ed.), *Manual of Iowa Politics . . .* (Iowa City, 1881), 92-3.

⁷⁰ Throne, "The Grange in Iowa, 1868-1875," 28.

that matter, neither had the Democrats.⁷¹ The question of legislative regulation had never been a subject of controversy between the two parties. In this year the Democrats held no convention and nominated no candidates; instead they gave their support to the Anti-Monopolists.

The platforms and campaign statements of both parties in the field in 1873 made it abundantly clear that the question of railroad control still was not a partisan issue. So far as the probability of restrictive legislation was concerned, it seemed that the election was to be very much a formality. This appraisal later proved to have been substantially correct. In the election, the Republicans retained control of the Senate and again won the governorship as well as most of the higher state offices, although by a slimmer margin than in the election of 1871. Seats in the House were divided about evenly, forty-nine for the Anti-Monopolists and forty-eight for the Republicans. It was said that sixty or more Representatives were Grangers. When the legislature convened in 1874, a long contest took place between the parties over the organization of the House.⁷² At its conclusion a number of regulatory bills was quickly brought forward, everyone wishing to be known as "the champion of the people against the railroad monopolies."⁷³ The desire to frame a workable law, and one fair to all concerned, caused the usual difficulties and delays, but there was never any real doubt that a bill would be passed. The bill finally adopted by both houses divided the roads into four classes according to their earnings, and established a schedule of maximum freights and passenger fares for each classification.⁷⁴

The great contribution of the Grange to the achievement of railroad control had been that of providing a rallying point at a time when statewide public opinion was in the later stages of assuming its final form and needed an organizational structure in order to complete the process and become an effective voice. The Grange organization furnished a sounding board from which agitation could be directed in such a way as to make it virtually impossible for any candidate to be elected in 1873 who did not promise his wholehearted support to railroad regulation. The success of this agitation is to be seen, not only in the passage of the regulatory law,

⁷¹ Annual platforms of both parties are collected in Fairall (ed.), *Manual of Iowa Politics* . . . , 16-93.

⁷² Throne, "The Grange in Iowa, 1868-1875," 29; *House Journal*, 1874, 8-53.

⁷³ *Ottumwa Democrat*, April 2, 1874.

⁷⁴ *Laws of Iowa*, 1874, Ch. 68.

but more strikingly, in the record of votes cast for and against it. In the Senate, where the bill passed 39 to 9, only one of the 22 Senators elected in 1873 voted against it. The other 8 negative votes were cast by men who were holdovers from the election of 1871. The House, all of whose members were elected in 1873, gave the bill a majority of 93 to 4.⁷⁵

Despite the importance of the Grange in securing state railroad control, the statute of 1874 was not, strictly speaking, a "Granger law." Designation of it as such has been the source of much popular misunderstanding of the function actually performed by the Grange. In reality the State Grange in 1874 refused to press for an acceptance of its views concerning the form regulatory legislation should take. Grange officials pointedly ignored several legislative resolutions inviting them to submit the draft of a regulatory law, and it was only with an air of reluctance that a committee representing the State Grange eventually met with the House committee on railroads to discuss Grange desires in the matter. The Grange recommendations offered at this meeting contained two essential features: the prohibition of discrimination; and the creation of a board of commissioners having broad powers to gather information, investigate alleged violations, and judge disputes. When requested to draft a bill embodying these points the Grangers of the committee declined to do so, explaining that they "had not been appointed by the State Grange for that purpose."⁷⁶ Nevertheless, both proposals were incorporated in several of the numerous bills introduced. Neither of them, however, appeared in the regulatory law as it was finally enacted. Legislative objections to an act based on the principle of anti-discrimination were much the same as those that had defeated the ill-fated O'Donnell bill in 1872. And with the approval, instead, of a measure based upon a fixed schedule of maximum rates, a board of special enforcement officers was considered unnecessary.

Several reasons may be advanced to explain the refusal of State Grange spokesmen to insist upon their version of a regulatory law. Viewing the outcome of the election and the temper of the General Assembly, Grange leaders must have been confident that the session would not adjourn until restrictive legislation had been passed. Probably, too, they were not un-

⁷⁵ *House Journal*, 1874, 403-404; *Senate Journal*, 1874, 295.

⁷⁶ *House Journal*, 1874, 153-4, 159, 172, 177; *Iowa City Daily Press*, Feb. 10, 18, 19, 20, 1874; *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, Feb. 20, 1874; *Keokuk Gate City*, Feb. 18, 25, 1874.

mindful of the provision of the National Grange constitution enjoining involvement in politics as an Order. Finally, there is every indication that the Grange, in the hour of victory, was anxious to avoid the appearance of official or semi-official action and thus allay growing hostility arising from the fear that its program supported aggressive, destructive warfare against railroads and other business interests.⁷⁷ Actually the official attitude of the State Grange, as its suggested means of control indicated, was more moderate than its enemies supposed it to be. It is to be noted that later observers have failed to emphasize this point, tending, rather, to see a direct correspondence between Grange demands and the law of 1874. Some of the confusion may be due to the fact that Grange suggestions spurned in 1874 were put into practice four years later when a revision of the law instituted the railroad commissioner plan.

The Grange also had had no part in formulating the theory of government applied in subjecting Iowa's railroads to public control. This was a legacy of the state's founding fathers, who had suspected that great amalgamations of economic power in the hands of a few always posed a threat to democracy, and who had believed that the acquisition of economic advantage through the connivance of government not only led to concentrations of economic power but was contradictory to a most fundamental postulate of democracy — the right of all citizens to equal treatment under the law. Unquestionably, reverence for these principles became relaxed in the warm glow of the almost incredible optimism of the early period of railroad building, when it appeared that *everyone*, not just a favored few, would be enriched through the magic of the rails. At the height of the frenzy of obtaining railroads, the original ideas of government receded into the background — not to be lost entirely from view, for they gradually became assimilated in the thinking of those who had always emphasized the general community interest in preference to the more abstract idea of equal rights, and tended to emerge as it became progressively clearer that railroads were something other than benevolent public service institutions. The result of all this was a certain ambivalence, apparent in all public dealings with railroad affairs from the late fifties onward.

In view of the fact that litigation over "Granger" legislation led to the Supreme Court pronouncement of the doctrine of "public interest," it is

⁷⁷ See remarks of A. B. Smedley as reported in the *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, Feb. 20, 1874.

hardly to be questioned that "midwestern farmers made an original and important contribution to the theory and method of democratic control over corporate enterprise."⁷⁸ No doubt proponents of strong government prominent in Iowa's early railroad history, particularly Governors Grimes and Stone, desired an interpretation of the relationship between public utility corporations and government very similar to the one established by Chief Justice Waite in 1876.⁷⁹ On the other hand it does seem clear that in their quest for a method of control, most of Iowa's citizens believed they were proceeding along lines implicit in the strongest traditions of their political heritage. For them, slogans such as "anti-monopolism" and "equal and exact justice to all" symbolized not so much a desire to experiment with new interpretations of the law to cope with a changing world, as a revival of faith in ideas much older than the state itself.

⁷⁸ Chester McA. Destler, "Western Radicalism, 1865-1901: Concepts and Origins," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 31:346 (December, 1944).

⁷⁹ Perhaps the best indication of Stone's views was his prophetic statement of 1866. See footnote 38. Grimes's political and social ideas are reflected by his public addresses and private letters relating to the campaign of 1854. A number of these are collected in William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes* . . . (New York, 1876), 34-50. Also see, Fred B. Lewellen, "The Political Ideas of James W. Grimes" (M.A. thesis, unpublished, State University of Iowa, 1932), 2-12.

RELIGION ON THE IOWA FRONTIER TO 1846

By Frederick J. Kuhns

The contest for power and the expansive tendency furnished to the various sects by the existence of a moving frontier must have had important results on the character of religious organizations in the United States. The multiplication of rival churches in the little frontier towns had deep and lasting social effects. The religious aspects of the frontier make a chapter in our history which needs study.¹

Frederick Jackson Turner

The fascinating story of the growth of religion on the rapidly expanding Iowa frontier merits the most careful and intensive study. The effective transplantation to the land of Iowa of many religious faiths (most of them from the older parts of the nation though some came to Iowa directly from abroad) forms a noteworthy chapter in the history of the Hawkeye State. Today professors of history, teachers of social studies, librarians, church historians, and even ministers, rabbis, and priests see much more clearly than yesterday the closer relationships that exist between religion and culture in America. They now recognize somewhat belatedly the fact of the inseparability of these two aspects of our national life, and are concerned that knowledge bearing on them be widely diffused. If an important phase of state and local history is the life of aspiration for and struggle to attain socially worth-while goals of the people who came to settle a region, then surely the study of the part played by the various character-building agencies and their relation to the life actually achieved by a people becomes a vital concern indeed. An estimate of religion in Iowa at the time that statehood was reached should, therefore, prove helpful in arriving at a fuller understanding of the people of this commonwealth.

The year 1846 — the *terminus ad quem* for the present inquiry — is an arbitrary selection. There is nothing in the context of Iowa's early religious development that would serve as a natural turning-point. It is thought, however, that 1846 — the year that brought statehood to Iowa — would

¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921), 36.

serve as a convenience to many students.² Some justification for the choice of this date may lie in the fact that most of the principal denominations of the time had taken root in Iowa by that year. As further support of 1846 is the fact that the techniques of winning the settlers of Iowa to the various church groups had become standardized. Patterns for future developments had, accordingly, been established by 1846.

If the value be questioned of holding this study to a margin of time narrowed to a scant fourteen years, from the beginning of permanent white settlement in Iowa to the year of statehood, perhaps the reminder that experience itself suggests the need of precisely this type of study may be welcomed by the interested student of the subject.³ It may also here be emphasized that many of the religious groups dealt with in this study have left but little in the form of original historical source materials.⁴

The Seventh Census⁵ credited Iowa with an aggregate population of 192,214 persons in the year 1850. Of this number, 170,620 were natives of the United States and 50,380 had been born in Iowa. The figure for the foreign-born is 21,232, while the origin of 362 persons was stated as unknown. Of the white population, 100,887 were males and 90,994 were females. There were also 333 free colored people in Iowa — 165 males and 168 females. In 1850, the nativity of the Iowa population from the seven states of the Union which had contributed the largest numbers to Iowa was as follows: Ohio, 30,713; Indiana, 19,925; Pennsylvania, 14,744; Kentucky, 8,994; New York, 8,134; Virginia, 7,861; and Illinois, 7,247. Furthermore, the six New England states together had sent out to Iowa no less than 5,535 persons originating as follows: Vermont, 1,645; Massachusetts, 1,251; Connecticut, 1,090; Maine, 713; New Hampshire, 580; Rhode Island, 256. Doubtless, also, many of those who removed to Iowa

² The "aggregate population with which Iowa entered the Union" was "presumably 102,388." *Census of Iowa, 1836-1880* (Des Moines, 1883), xiii. It should be possible to show, at least in a general way, the religious aspect of life in Iowa at the time of her admission into the Union as the twenty-ninth state on December 28, 1846.

³ A careful review that carries the story to the creation of Iowa Territory in 1838 is that by R. E. Harvey, "Faith and Works in the Black Hawk Purchase," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 21:241-82 (April, 1938).

⁴ The fullest account written thus far is that by William J. Petersen, *The Story of Iowa: The Progress of an American State* (4 vols.; New York, 1952), noting particularly Ch. XXII, "Religion in Iowa," 2:661-755.

⁵ *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, 1853), xxxvi-xxxviii.

from New York and Ohio were of fairly recent New England extraction. It should further be noted that the Iowa population in 1850 included 4,274 from Tennessee, 3,807 from Missouri, and 2,589 from North Carolina. To Iowa the foregoing sixteen states had thus contributed no fewer than 109,823 persons or 57.1 per cent of the 1850 Iowa population. If the study of Iowa's population were to be carried back into the preceding generation doubtless it would appear that many of those who proceeded to Iowa from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were of southern ancestry. Thus, in Iowa, were merged the various colonial and early national American strains which had given the new nation its great religious diversity as well as the type of religious liberty that was and still is unique among the nations of the world, and this same spirit came to be preserved in Iowa. Of the foreign-born in Iowa by 1850, by far the largest number of 7,152 were the Germans, while the Irish ranked second with 4,885. Third place was taken by the English with 3,785. Besides, there were 712 Scotch people in Iowa and 1,758 from British America. The Dutch counted 1,108. Such, then, were the major foreign elements flavoring Iowa's cultural life by 1850.

The above facts suggest the highly composite character of Iowa's population at an early date. The same figures also serve, however, as an additional check on Iowa's social and religious antecedents, and in this role they may well prove indispensable. They do, indeed, re-enforce the fact that by 1850 all the states where the major denominations were solidly established were well represented by the people who were rapidly settling in Iowa. The further fact emerges also, that several groups of the foreign-born whose churches, church schools, church papers, and church traditions have been of such colorful importance in the history of Iowa had not so much as reached American shores by 1850. The consideration of the above statistics leads, further, to the advance generalization that the pattern of religion in Iowa was quite as variegated as was that of the nation as a whole.⁶ This consideration may be an important one, therefore, in evaluating the very quality of national patriotism in Iowa. Moreover, it is a striking fact that the settlement of Iowa in the period here defined was taking place precisely at the time when in the nation itself sectional and denominational viewpoints were rapidly replacing more broadly national and interdenomi-

⁶ The two best contemporary works that provide an over-all view of religion in the America of this period are those by Robert Baird, *Religion in America . . .* (Glasgow, 1844; New York, 1856), and Joseph Belcher, *The Religious Denominations in the United States . . .* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia, 1861).

national attitudes on the part of people generally. It must here be recalled that the middle period of our American history was one of violent upheaval for the churches, as various newfangled movements brought in their tens of thousands of new members or incited their followers to organize competitively. Some of the older churches were badly split in this period by doctrinal wars or by the slavery issue, while some regrouped themselves with die-hard blocs of reactionaries opposing the more progressive wings. Revivalism, abolitionism, "come-outer-ism," denominational schisms, and sectarian recombinations in the religions of the American people generally were attaining their highest velocity and their widest spread from the 1830's to the 1850's. The more benign influences of the religious revivals were promptly appropriated by the miscellaneous reforms of the day, while democratic trends were observable both in educational circles and in politics. The larger and much better informed participation of laymen in church affairs was another marked characteristic of the period in which the early settlement of Iowa occurred.

Naturally, as the new settlers swarmed into Iowa, the demand for churches and Sunday schools rose sharply. By the impartial historian, Iowa must be considered as a mission field until late in the nineteenth century; indeed, for the major part of the period prior to 1882 Iowa was a frontier dependency of New England in so far as the ability of the American Home Missionary Society, the largest of all such national organizations, to provide for their support was reflected in the supply of pastors for the Iowa congregations. Independence of this type of "control from abroad" was not achieved by the Congregationalists, for example, until that year, 1882. True, the Old School Presbyterians had cast off the American Home Missionary Society as early as 1837, but their New School brethren, on the other hand, clung to it tenaciously until 1861, meanwhile cooperating with the Congregationalists. The Iowa congregations were aided, however, by the Old School's own Board of Missions, while for that matter the New School General Assembly did likewise until 1870. By 1883, however, most of the Presbyterian (U. S. A.) congregations in Iowa were "on their own." During the fifty years that Iowans looked to the American Home Missionary Society for the sustenance of their churches, they themselves were contributing sums of considerable size towards the support of their religious services. It is also important to underscore the fact that, simultaneously, the Iowans were making liberal donations to foreign missionary causes.

Among the Methodists and the Episcopalians, respectively, the infant churches in Iowa were being nursed along as "missions" of longer circuits or as an extension of the regular diocesan work based in other states adjoining Iowa. Protestant Episcopal Missionary Bishop Jackson Kemper, for instance, had a vast field to cover, one that included all of Iowa Territory, and thus the history of the growing Hawkeye State is romantically linked with the name of one of the most vigorous churchmen in the West of that time. The contrast afforded by the rough and ready circuit rider of the Methodists and the usually more punctilious pastor settled over the Presbyterian and Congregational churches in Iowa is a striking one; the considerably more rapid growth of the former denomination has been due very largely to the fact that the Methodist elders and bishops were continuously traveling among the people in the new settlements rather than waiting for the pioneers to look up the ministers. Nevertheless, the other method of settling a pastor over a congregation (the method of the home mission boards) had much to commend it; in this way, very frequently an air of permanency was imparted to the frontier churches almost from the time of their constitution, or as soon as the people had pledged themselves to subscribe to the pastor's support, the erection of a neat edifice, and the building of a parsonage in cooperation with a particular missionary agency.⁷

As already suggested, the financing of the early churches of Iowa was cared for partly by mission societies and partly by the people themselves. In this connection, it is interesting to note that certain European religious organizations also aided the immigrant groups in their facing of the hazards of life on the American frontier. For example, the Roman Catholics settling in the United States owed much to the *Ludwig-Missionsverein* of Munich, the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna, and the Paris-Lyons Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The need of the Catholics thus to look to Europe for help gave rise to considerable unintelligent criticism in the United States, criticism, some of it scurrilous and unfounded, based on the fear that sooner or later first the Mississippi Valley and ultimately the nation itself would be ruled either by the Hapsburgs or by the pope. On the other hand, there was much genuine concern on the part of Calvinistically-minded home missionaries lest the democratic spirit receive a setback because of the increasing immigration from predominantly Catholic foreign nations.

⁷ An excellent recent book that refers broadly to Iowa is that by Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* . . . (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939).

But European Protestants — French, Swiss, and German — also settled in the American Middle West, and their churches came with them — Evangelical, Lutheran, and Reformed. They, too, found assistance coming from organizations in the old countries — at Basel, Barmen, and other European centers of culture and missionary concern.⁸ For a brief time (though later than 1846) the American Home Missionary Society likewise subsidized Iowa congregations of the denominational types here noted.

Other denominations followed suit in planting churches of the particular type or form on Iowa's developing frontiers. Thus, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which had been organized in 1832, soon claimed an interest in the newly-forming Baptist congregations; from scanty evidence the conclusion would seem to be substantiated that anti-mission sentiment made but little headway in Iowa Territory, this fact being in decided contrast to the case in Indiana and Illinois of the time. Other Presbyterian branches such as the Cumberland, Associate, and Associate Reformed, as well as the Reformed Church in America (Dutch), also derived a part of their support from the domestic missionary societies that each had organized. The Methodists and the Episcopalians had missionary societies, too, while the Lutherans of different European national origins raised money for their own churches. Certain of the Lutherans even cooperated with the American Home Missionary Society, particularly following the persuasive labors of the great Lutheran leader in the field of church unity, Dr. Samuel S. Schmucker of the Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, seminary between 1835 and 1840. Occasionally, also, Iowa churches were counted in on the proceeds of the estates of missionary-minded and charitably-disposed individuals. It should here be recalled, too, that the federal government itself wholly supported David Lowry, a Cumberland Presbyterian clergyman, in Iowa, as resident teacher and sub-agent among the Winnebago Indians at the "Old Mission" on the Yellow River in what is now Allamakee County, Iowa.⁹ There was Father Pierre Jean De Smet of the Society of Jesus, too, who

⁸ During the 1830's, the American Home Missionary Society also subsidized a few Protestant ministers in France and Switzerland. Responsible for bringing the appeals of these French-speaking congregations to America was the Rev. Robert Baird, an American scholar residing and publishing at Geneva, and author of the work cited above. Baird was also the author of the important book containing many contemporary maps, *Views of the Valley of the Mississippi, or the Emigrant's and Traveler's Guide to the West . . .* (2d ed.; Philadelphia, 1834).

⁹ Ruth A. Gallaher, "Indian Agents in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 14:559-96 (October, 1916).

carried on his brief but timely work of conversion among the Potawatomi Indians at the St. Joseph Mission in the vicinity of present-day Council Bluffs, between 1838 and 1840, though he was not remunerated by the United States government.¹⁰

In planning for worship of the different denominational groups, early Iowa's Christian people used all kinds of places for their assemblies: open fields, banks of streams, woodland enclosures, log cabins, rude barns, and primitive schoolhouses and courthouses. Besides, there were some neat little church edifices designed on good architectural lines. Frequently, the faithful devotees of a particular congregation would be aided in the construction of a house of worship by the elements in the community which a Psalmist centuries earlier might well have spoken of as the "scoffers" and the "scornful." During the lifetime of the first generation of Iowa pioneers few structures were of brick, but the charm of the original log or frame types has been preserved in the few early church buildings that remain.

One of the most colorful events in early Iowa history was the use made of the well-designed Methodist Episcopal church building at Burlington (later called "Old Zion") by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wisconsin in the year 1837 following the destruction of the territorial capitol by fire. The same structure also served as the capitol for the Iowa Territorial Assembly between 1838 and 1841.

When it came to preaching, for the Methodists in particular, there were the usual "exhorters" (an appointive office in that denomination) in addition to the ordained elders to do the demanding work of preaching, converting, and following up of the people at their farms. The Baptists were forward, too, about letting laymen preach from field to field and from church to church. As a rule, however, such a practice was not adopted by the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists; for bulking large in the thinking of those denominations was the traditional association of the high office of the ruling elder or teacher having "ministerial character." Much freelancing or lay ministerial service was thus forestalled among them. Despite this characteristic, however, laymen were of vital importance in the organization of new congregations, and, together with the clergymen, they governed them. Neither was any limit set on the amount of activity that a layman might perform in connection with the Sabbath schools and youth work.

¹⁰ E. Laveille, *The Life of Father De Smet, S. J.* (New York, 1915), Ch. V, "The Potawatomi Mission," 77-95.

Actual structural operations on the church sanctuary were always carried through by the men, whether church members or not; for the frontier made all hands willing hands, those of the "godly" working freely alongside those of the "ungodly" in the setting of sills and the raising of rafters.

Though but few women were permitted in those times to preach or otherwise lead in religious exercises of the various churches in the western country generally, yet the Universalists came closer to actual equality in that respect than did any other denomination. Historically speaking, they did really encourage ministerial activities on woman's part. Consequently, this denomination in Iowa had more women serving in its ranks as preachers (eloquent ones, too) than had any other.

The ladies of a community usually prepared the new furnishings in taste with the newly-built church edifice put up by their men folks, and they also led off with true farmers' dinners when the time to celebrate its completion and dedication to the Lord had arrived. Frequently the women organized sewing circles and mothers' clubs — "primary groups" in more than one sense on the isolated frontier line. Such a group often became the nucleus of children's activities anticipating the nurseries and kindergartens of a later time. It was perhaps more natural for the women to find their place in their cabins and their fields, and to leave matters of business, traveling, industry, and even the arts largely to the men. Even schoolteaching was generally considered a man's work, though very gradually women were being recognized in the profession and encouraged to enter it. Sometimes help for this work would come from interested Bostonese and others. Yet the women folk fully played their part in the ongoing life of all the churches. Engaged in bazaars, the raising of money for the missionary's salary, and the sewing required to recondition the various castoffs sent to the frontier communities by the more affluent eastern churches, the ladies made possible, among other things, the part-time employment of a minister, the framing of a church edifice, the outfitting of a log-cabin parsonage, and the implementation of the settlers' growing desire to have respectable colleges in their midst as well as common schools and female seminaries. Many such institutions were begun and carried to fame in the cabin of a frontier missionary and his wife, both of whom have long since been forgotten by generations sent to schools on taxpayers' money. A woman's place in the Sabbath schools was also of importance, while the various local and county, sometimes state-wide, Bible, temperance, antislavery, and missionary societies could hardly

have been conducted without her powerful attachment, deep devotion, and unfailing inspiration.

In addition to English, which most Iowans of 1846 used in church as well as in familiar intercourse, many foreign languages were employed in churchly observances. These, by contrast, formed an intriguing assortment, lending color, emphasis, and strength to church life, since Iowa congregations, in the year that statehood was achieved, worshipped habitually in no fewer than eight foreign languages, viz., Latin, French, German, Dutch, Scotch, Welsh, Swedish, and even Czech. Moreover, Irish, Italian, and vernacular German were heard in God's praise. Greek and Hebrew tongues also were in constant use by many of the preachers and the college teachers and would be quoted from occasionally in religious gatherings. Nor did many years pass until thousands upon thousands more, chiefly Lutherans, used Norwegian, Danish, and Finnish every day as well as in church. In due course, virtually every nation under Heaven was to contribute its peculiar strains to Iowa speech, thus lending its lingo to Iowa's reverence. Beyond this, the accents gained earlier in every state of the then twenty-eight that formed the United States of America accompanied the settlers who organized Iowa as the nation's twenty-ninth. Nor can it be forgotten that Iowa's worshipping congregations heard repeatedly the hopeful, fervent, sonorous notes of Negro Christians who helped to constitute the earliest congregations. In those frontier times no separated Negro churches had been formed; people of color mingled pleasantly for worshipping with the white congregations at several points in Iowa, among them Dubuque, Davenport, Burlington, Mount Pleasant, Salem, and Farmington.

To provide for more vital association of the people, also to make for closer ministerial fellowship, the various denominations in Iowa, as elsewhere in the nation, organized in a number of ecclesiastical bodies (conferences, associations, synods, and the like). Thus, by 1846, the Roman Catholics, Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists had completely organized as larger units. The following also were taking steps eventually leading to similar organization: the Friends, Disciples of Christ, Methodist Protestants, Wesleyan Methodists, Universalists, and Cumberland Presbyterians. Still others, such as the United Brethren, Protestant Episcopalians, German Lutherans, Evangelicals, and the members of the "Christian Connection Church," a body stemming from the revivals of Rev. Barton W. Stone in Kentucky, soon formed these larger patterns. At

least, all the denominations were in adherence to general conferences or associations based in states adjoining Iowa.

One very interesting characteristic of religion in early Iowa was the large amount of space given to Iowa church news in the denominational and interdenominational newspapers and periodicals of the time. The rapid settling of Iowa Territory and the mental habits of the new citizenry filled many columns in such widely circulated papers as the *Western Herald* (Chicago), *Philanthropist* (Cincinnati), *Watchman of the Valley* (Cincinnati), *Home Missionary* (New York), *Biblical Repertory* (Princeton), and *New England Puritan* (Boston). Through these and other media, word was carried to the financial centers of the Union as to the glorious opportunities facing Iowa's new settlers, their trials and difficulties, their educational and religious needs, as well as the large measure of success already experienced by them. Iowa ministers and home missionaries lost no time in giving out to an eager public their impressions of life in Iowa; this was indeed good ground to stand on in appealing for additional settlers and for even larger financial support for the infant churches. To give just one illustration of this: Rev. John C. Holbrook, pastor of the Congregational church in Dubuque, wrote regularly for the *New England Puritan* in 1845 and 1846, as did the Rev. Julius A. Reed of Davenport for the *Western Herald* and *Herald of the Prairies* (Chicago). Even the widely-read antislavery weekly, Chicago's *Western Citizen*, carried much Iowa news matter, particularly as to the progress of abolitionist debate among church people. Iowa clergymen usually signed this as correspondents of the *Western Citizen*. It was customary, also, to find in such reports some reference to the high class type of citizens who were taking up their abode in Iowa.

In the course of examining the literature of Iowa religion, the writer has seen quite a number of Iowa imprints of this period antedating statehood on various library shelves as well as listed in bibliographical compilations. Most of these are in the form of minutes, reports, and records of ecclesiastical conferences of one sort or another. Some bear the name of Burlington, some of Davenport, and others of Dubuque as the place of publication, 1840-1846. Frequently, however, the official scribe of a denomination merely kept the manuscript records of church business in his cabin, publishing them much later if money could be had for the purpose. Unfortunately, this has meant that many such volumes of records have been destroyed, lost, or mislaid. A project of this kind was completed by the

Congregationalists in 1888.¹¹ Some of the churches, apparently, never published official minutes or transactions, and many of these records are only now being "rediscovered."

The early pastors of Iowa were generally good writers themselves, several of their number contributing excellent books and articles to the fund of basic literature of Iowa history, biography, religion, and culture. So far is this true that only a few of these authors can be mentioned in this place; yet it would be unpardonable to omit the names of Father Samuel Maz-zuchelli, Father Pierre Jean De Smet, Rev. David Lowry, Rev. Samuel Storrs Howe, Rev. Bennett Mitchell, Rev. Asa Turner, Jr., Rev. Julius A. Reed, Rev. William Salter, and Rev. Ephraim Adams (the two last being members of the famous "Iowa Band" from Andover, Massachusetts). Through the prodigious efforts of those already named and of many others who wrestled with Iowa's frontier conditions, we have today a vast legacy of books, articles, and other papers, the authentic voices of the early clergy of Iowa together with those of their contemporaries who built the Iowa of territorial days. The secure foundations beneath the future development of the Hawkeye State were laid by these men whose descriptions of early Iowa are rare specimens of historical representation and literary competence.

Another phase of Iowa's religious life in the period before statehood was the service rendered by Iowans on the national and even on the international scene. As surely as Iowa herself had been served by home missionaries, so, in due course, would the people of Iowa also gratefully return this favor with a like service to the peoples of the world. Actually, the growth of the missionary spirit among the citizens of Iowa has been a splendid thing though it was somewhat late in getting under way. In the frontier period, however, Iowans contributed their time and effort toward churchly interests lying beyond the borders of the Hawkeye State. Specifically, the Congregationalists of Iowa took a prominent part in the Western Convention at Michigan City, Indiana, in August, 1846, where the recommendation was passed calling for the repeal of the famous "Plan of Union" with the Presbyterian Church.¹² The members of both of these denominations also took

¹¹ *Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of the State of Iowa from 1840 to 1855 inclusive, also Early History of Iowa College from Unpublished Documents, with such statistics and reports as are attainable* (Hull, Iowa, 1888). Actually, the years covered in this work are 1840-1854 inclusive.

¹² Frederick I. Kuhns, "New Light on the Plan of Union," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, 26:19-43 (March, 1948). In Iowa Territory the Congrega-

part in conventions held for the purpose of discussing frontier missions, temperance, Bible distribution, and Sabbath school methods.

Another way in which Iowa's religious affairs came in for larger consideration and consultative planning was evolved by means of the visitation of each frontier congregation by the home missionary agents. These agents, who were the rough equivalent of today's synodical executives and conference superintendents, reported annually at New York City for the business meeting of the American Home Missionary Society concerning the jurisdictions assigned to them. Meanwhile, a constant stream of letters giving the agents' general points of view kept the home office informed as to local developments.¹³ Thus, Iowans truly shared in the extension of a national program of missionary work, a program that kept on expanding until well after the Civil War. The same characteristic was a feature of Iowa Methodism through the medium of General Conference held every four years, while most of the assorted varieties of Iowa Presbyterianism gathered annually in a general assembly.

Doubtless, it would occur to someone to ask concerning the viewpoints of the Iowa clergy of territorial days. Were these men liberal or conservative? Were they well-trained or but carelessly fitted for their pulpit duties? Some of them, of course, had attended neither college nor seminary, though many were graduates of both. Some, like Rev. Peter Cartwright, the two-fisted Methodist presiding elder, frowned upon seminary training for young men, while others, more of the stripe of Rev. William Salter, found their ministry greatly enriched and their circuits enormously widened precisely because they were meticulous about their academic preparation.¹⁴

Concerning the cultural contributions made to the life of early Iowa by some of the nation's older and more fashionable literary institutions, as well

tionalists sought the formation of a new plan of union with the New School Presbyterians, but these overtures broke down owing to the failure of the Des Moines Presbytery to act favorably upon them. Later, at Albany, N. Y., the Rev. Asa Turner, Jr., of Denmark, Iowa, occupied a prominent seat in the Congregational Convention (October, 1852), where the final renunciation of the Plan of Union was read. Addressing the convention, Turner cited copiously from his twenty years of pastoral experience in Illinois and Iowa.

¹³ The editing and publishing of the Iowa agents' letters (1840-1861) would reveal many interesting things about the general cultural life of the Hawkeye State. Many of these are on file among the Papers of the American Home Missionary Society at the Chicago Theological Seminary.

¹⁴ For material bearing on this question, see the fine volume by Philip D. Jordan, *William Salter: Western Torchbearer* (Oxford, Ohio, 1939).

as by some of the newer ones in the West itself, vast gains accrued to the Hawkeye State through the arrival of scores of ministerial graduates hailing from Williams, Union, Yale, Princeton, Middlebury, Wesleyan, Andover, Hamilton, Bangor, Dartmouth, Auburn, Lane, Western Reserve, Illinois, and other colleges and universities east of the Mississippi. Among the Swiss and German Protestants in Iowa, for example, distinguished foreign universities loaned their prestige to the developing culture, while the great Roman Catholic faculties of Louvain, Bruges, Brussels, Paris, and Milan contributed out of their store of learning to the Iowa priesthood.

For the most part conservatively cut, the frontier ministers of the many faiths in Iowa showed a surprising degree of catholicity in their attitudes toward their brethren. Respecting their biblical and theological orientation, the majority, so it would seem, hugged the traditional and more literal interpretations, though not a few were of a more liberal stamp. In fairness to both positions, however, it should be recalled that the seminal influence of powerful German theological scholarship, which worked a revolution in regard to the Life of Christ, biblical exposition, and ecclesiastical historical science, had not penetrated to the Iowa frontier by 1846. On social questions of the day, virtually all Iowa pastors held John Barleycorn largely responsible for the state of affairs. In another area altogether, that of the emancipation of the Negro, most pastors were inclined to be sympathetic, though wide differences obtained as to the means of implementing idealism in action. Thanks to the various Friends' meetings and to the Congregationists, many pastors and laymen were outspokenly abolitionist and gave their aid and comfort to the Underground Railroad movement. Incidentally, neither the Baptists nor the Methodists, both of whose church organizations were splitting (1844-1846) because of irreconcilable controversies relating to the slavery question, suffered a division of forces over this subject in Iowa. There were, however, a few Wesleyan Methodists to represent the bold abolitionist thought patterns forged by the followers of the Rev. Orange Scott, and Scott himself attended the first meeting of the Wisconsin Conference at Village Point (seven miles west of Burlington, Iowa Territory) in September, 1845.¹⁵ The Presbyterians, who split decisively in 1837, once again in 1846, and still later in 1857 and 1861 over slavery or

¹⁵ Ira F. McLeister, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church* (Syracuse, New York, 1934), 297-8. Iowa was raised to a separate conference in 1852, though the body held no meetings until 1854.

questions closely related to the slavery issue, lined up as Old School and New School partisans, stressing their theological differences. On the question of Sabbath observance, an almost solid front was presented to the indifferent and the infidel fraction of the Iowa population by the Protestant clergy generally. A good deal of discussion took place over this topic, some of it heated and most of it at the expense of the Roman Catholics and the various German Protestants, all of which groups spent Sunday according to European custom, with church-going early in the day and diversions and sports of all kinds (including horse racing) following the services. Iowa's descendants of the Puritans naturally took exception to this.

The recounting of the history of the Iowa (and American) frontier would be woefully distorted if it were to be told without considerable reference to the indispensable part played by all of the churches in the shaping of a distinctly American educational inheritance. In the ecclesiastical origins of numerous of their colleges and universities the American people (and Iowans in particular) have little whereof to feel ashamed.¹⁶ Much the larger share of the credit for bringing this enlightenment to the western mind rightfully belongs to the home missionaries, circuit riders, bishops, and preachers as well as devoted laymen of kindred denominations peopling the frontier. For a hundred years ago and more the states themselves in which the thirty-sixth part of the public land had been reserved for educational purposes did not set the pattern in motion of ministering effectually to the frontiersman's destitution; it was the churches who did this. The churches, acting on the voluntary principle, raised and disbursed thousands of dollars annually for education, and well-trained ministers were commissioned by the hundreds to lay anew the foundations of culture in the western settlements generally. In this effort the cooperation of the American Education Society of Boston (Congregational) kindled a general enthusiasm. The Presbyterians, likewise, had established a Board of Education by 1819. Ministers recruited both faculty and students, societies of inquiry supplied the loftiest of motives among the students themselves, and ladies' missionary societies, newspaper editors, businessmen, and colonies of Chris-

¹⁶ An excellent resume of the founding of these fine frontier institutions is that by Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War: With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement* (New York, 1932). Another good work in this field is that by Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History* (rev. ed.; Boston, 1934).

tian people emigrating into the West carried the torch of this fostering interest in colleges, academies, and seminaries for both young men and young women who sought their schooling in the West. The Panic of 1837 brought temporary reverses to the college movement; but in 1843 the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West was established to help lift the burden of debt from the feeble institutions and to guarantee their year-to-year running expenses. In time this society affected Iowa by partly underwriting the work of Iowa College.

It would seem that the Presbyterians put forth the very first efforts to bring collegiate educational opportunities to Iowa. Proceeding on the constitutional basis laid down by both the Wisconsin and Iowa Territorial Legislative Assemblies, this denomination began (though it was unable to carry through to consummation) the old Des Moines College at West Point. The Presbyterians were more successful with Jefferson Academy, chartered in 1844, which became successively Yellow Spring Collegiate Institute and Yellow Spring College. Both institutions are nonexistent today.

The next effort made in Iowa in behalf of church-sponsored education came through the generous impulses of the Rev. Mathias Loras, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Dubuque. Shortly after his arrival in Iowa (1839) he gathered students together in his rectory to prepare them for the priesthood. Continuing, these efforts bore cumulatively richer fruitage, and the institution famous today as Loras College is the net result of the firm and farseeing administration of this great see.

It was not long before the Methodists were also in position to sponsor a college. For some reason they did not take the option of operating Iowa City College, incorporated in 1843, but eventually (1849) accepted both the control and the patronage of the Mount Pleasant Literary Institute, which was begun in 1842 and chartered two years later. The Iowa Conference took this fledgling institution under its wing in 1849, and in 1912 the present name — Iowa Wesleyan College — was selected.¹⁷

As certain New School Presbyterian and Congregational ministers were returning to their charges in Wisconsin and Iowa territories from a convention held at Cleveland in June, 1844, the idea was born of establishing (by joint denominational effort) a number of high-grade literary institutions ("little Yales in the West") in the three rising communities of Illinois,

¹⁷ Ruth A. Gallaher, "The Methodists in Iowa," *The Palimpsest*, 32:110-11 (February, 1951).

Wisconsin, and Iowa. Eventually Beloit, Rockford, and Iowa colleges emerged from this significant conference. Iowa College was founded in the year 1846 and located the following year at Davenport. The "Iowa Educational Association," formed at Yale College, met at Denmark, Iowa Territory, on March 12, 1844, to consider the establishment of a college in the same community where the Rev. Asa Turner, Jr., six years previously, had organized the very first Congregational church in the Territory, and where an academy also had been founded. In April the Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians cooperated in the formation of the "Iowa College Association," adopting the resolution of the Rev. Reuben Gaylord to proceed with college plans at once. Trustees were chosen at Davenport two years later. The college constitution was adopted at Burlington in 1847, and the same year saw the erection at Davenport of the college building measuring 36x55 feet.¹⁸ Instruction began in 1848. Iowa College, however, was sold to the Protestant Episcopalians in 1859, and a merger was consummated at Grinnell in the heart of Iowa with a university which had been started by the Rev. Josiah B. Grinnell.

Other denominations coming to Iowa eventually followed suit in establishing colleges, academies, and even seminaries, particularly the Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, and Friends. Many of these early institutions (begun in the 1850's and 1860's) are still thriving.

In conclusion, a list will now be given of the denominations occupying the Iowa frontier by 1846, and a few notes appended relative to some of these. Arranged by "families," they include the following: Roman Catholics; Methodists, Methodist Protestants, and Wesleyan Methodists; Presbyterians, both Old School and New School varieties (with German Presbyterians adhering with the latter), Associate Presbyterians, Associate Reformed Presbyterians, and Reformed Presbyterians; Congregationalists; Baptists of German, English, Swedish, and "Hard Shell" varieties; Disciples of Christ ("Campbellites," in frontier parlance); Christians ("Stoneites,"

¹⁸ In the Papers of the American Home Missionary Society at the Charles G. Hammond Library of the Chicago Theological Seminary are to be found several important letters bearing on the establishment of Iowa College. See Julius A. Reed, Fairfield, I. T., June 3, 1844, to Milton Badger, New York; Julius A. Reed, Davenport, I. T., Feb. 10, 1847, to Milton Badger, New York; Ephraim Adams, Davenport, Iowa, May 1, 1847, Nov. 1, 1847, Nov. 10, 1848, to Milton Badger, New York (A. H. M. S. Papers). See also Julius A. Reed, *Reminiscences of Early Congregationalism in Iowa* (Grinnell, Iowa, 1885) 17-18, and Ephraim Adams, *The Iowa Band* (rev. ed.; Boston [1903]), *passim*.

after Barton W. Stone, their leader in Kentucky); Universalists; Evangelicals (*Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens*); Millerites or Adventists; Mormons or Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; Friends (Quakers); Protestant Episcopalians; Mennonites or Amish; Swedenborgians (Church of the New Jerusalem); Dunkers or Brethren; United Brethren in Christ (today's Evangelical United Brethren Church); and a few Lutherans of German extraction and constituting the Missouri Synod (at Chicago) in 1847. Other groups came to Iowa later.

The Catholics, whose bishop, Rev. Mathias Loras, was consecrated in 1837 and installed two years later at Dubuque, had visited Iowa in the person of Jesuit missionaries as early as 1673. The Catholic clergy were of several nationalities, namely, French, Belgian, Dutch, German, Austrian, Italian, Irish, and American.

The Methodists erected the first church building in Iowa at Dubuque in 1834. Methodist Protestants and Wesleyan Methodists, both denominations representing "left-wing" tendencies, attained separate structures nationally in 1830 and 1843, respectively. Although few in number in Iowa, these two groups were nevertheless of importance in the advancement of the antislavery movement and the democratic trends that set in among virtually all church bodies. In 1841 the Methodist Protestants achieved the distinction of erecting the first church edifice built in the new capital of Iowa Territory — Iowa City.

As already pointed out, the Cumberland Presbyterians advanced upon Iowa both from Illinois and from Missouri. Operations in Iowa were begun, however, by Rev. David Lowry in 1834 among the Winnebago Indians on the Yellow River, additional work having been performed by this servant during the previous autumn at Prairie du Chien. The number of Cumberland Presbyterians always remained relatively small and virtually no records of their labors in Iowa have survived.

The Old School Presbyterians and the New School Presbyterians commenced their work in Iowa at approximately the same time, in 1837 and 1838 respectively. These dates, it will be noted, coincided with the fateful schism in the Presbyterian General Assembly at Philadelphia. Thus, within the largest branch of American Presbyterianism, there were two opposing groups; but under the "Plan of Union" the New School wing cooperated quite happily with the Congregationalists until the middle forties. Dubuque became the center for the German Presbyterians as they entered Iowa. The

rugged Scotch and Scotch-Irish strains in American Presbyterianism also came to Iowa along with the Reformed, Associate Reformed, and Associate Presbyterian groups, late in the 1830's and early in the 1840's. Washington, Iowa, became a kind of capital for clans of this background.

One of the oldest faiths in America, Congregationalism, had been historically associated with the coming of the "Pilgrim Fathers" of *Mayflower* fame, and originally domiciled at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, where Plymouth Rock still serves as a continual reminder that this denomination has weathered not merely great gusts at sea, but also heavy storms of persecution and adversity. One storm, however, that nearly wrecked American Congregationalism was brewed by some of its own leaders, as this denomination sought to transplant itself onto the western frontiers of the new nation. As a religious force it became powerful, but as a denominational entity it came close to disappearance. By cooperation with the great and aggressive Presbyterian Church hundreds of Congregational churches, possibly five hundred in all, in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, and Wisconsin, became Presbyterianized almost overnight under the famous "Plan of Union." This spectacle, however, did not recur in Iowa, and, as a matter of fact, historically, it was here that this movement was thrown into reverse and Presbyterian congregations (about ten in all) elected to become Congregational churches. The Plan was abrogated on two auspicious occasions — 1846 and 1852.

The antecedents of nearly all of Iowa's early Congregationalism were traceable to New England or to centers in the West rich in New England elements and cultural traditions. The first Congregational church to be organized in Iowa Territory was that formed at Denmark in May, 1838, by Rev. Asa Turner, Jr., previously established at Quincy, Illinois, and who became the pastor at Denmark for thirty years. In fairly rapid tempo a number of Congregational churches derived from various national and ecclesiastical antecedents were organized in Iowa, namely, those of French, Swedish, German, and Welsh backgrounds, these being in addition to those formed by the American pioneers themselves. One of the most noteworthy events in Iowa's cultural history was the coming of the "Iowa Band" of ministers from Andover Theological Institution in 1843 and 1844, all of whom served Congregational churches on a widely-flung frontier line.

Two denominational groups, at times difficult to distinguish, and, for the most part, coming from Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois, were

the Disciples of Christ and the Christians. The former were all immersionists as were many of the latter though some sprinkling was practiced at baptism by some of the Christians. There may have been more real kinship (there was more tension, too) between the various Baptist groups and the Disciples, since the Baptists likewise practiced immersion exclusively; but they did not hold the Lord's Supper each Sunday as did Alexander Campbell's Disciples.

It seems worth while to say just a word as to the members of the Universalist persuasion, another group settling in Iowa at an early date. In origins an English faith, Universalism became Americanized following the Revolutionary War and more democratic as it rolled westward across Ohio and Indiana toward Iowa late in the 1830's. By 1841 Iowa City had a Universalist congregation, an edifice being completed in 1844 on lands granted by the territorial government.

Previous to 1847 Iowa had but few adherents of the German mystical brethren or Pietistic bodies, though some were making a beginning of settlement and their number was increasing. Among these, in 1846, were the Mennonites of Johnson County, counting the Guengerich and Schwartzen-druber families, a few Dunkers (Brethren), a colony of Swedenborgians (Church of the New Jerusalem) in Jasper County, a bare handful of United Brethren in Christ, and numerous albeit inchoate Evangelical representatives arriving from the various principalities of Germany. These last became more numerous than other German church bodies in early Iowa. Perhaps it would here be well to caution the reader against the pitfall of confusing the Evangelical Association (consisting of the followers of Jacob Albright, who merged with the United Brethren of Phillip Otterbein to form the Evangelical United Brethren Church in 1946) with the Evangelical Synod of North America (which body merged with the Reformed Church in the United States in 1936 to constitute the Evangelical and Reformed Church). The present writer has been unable to locate any of the former strain of Evangelicals on the early Iowa frontier; on the other hand, Evangelicals of the Prussian Church Union type (1817) formed a number of congregations in Iowa, the first having been established at Burlington in 1843. In 1840, in St. Louis County, Missouri, the ministerial body known as the *Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens* or German Church Society of the West was formed. The best representative of this

group in Iowa was Rev. Joseph Rieger, much of whose thrilling life-story has been well edited by competent scholars.¹⁹

At the furthest remove from all other types of churches were the Quakers or Friends, birthright descendants of the seventeenth century English pioneers who followed George Fox and his quaint old teachings. Their first place of settlement in Iowa was made at Salem in present-day Henry County in 1836. From this point further expansion proceeded in proportion to the smaller numbers counted by this denomination.

All of these faiths supplied the Iowa pioneers with the religious resources needed by any and every people in every age. Not merely this; they also kept alive the spark of man's intellect, fortified his faith in the eternal destiny of the human race, and tempered man's judgment of his contemporaries. Life in Iowa was to no small degree humanized, democratized, and energized by the sense of responsibility generated by the religious forces. In turn there was imparted to the new citizenry a spirit of cooperation through its worship as well as its constructive service from the framing of the first houses to the governing of the new state by Christian men. Iowa, land of high ideals, rich in human association, looks to its religious roots as being of the greatest significance in its own significant course of historical development. The flowering of Iowa culture today may be traced to the seeds of Gospel truth that were generously sown during Iowa's territorial period.

¹⁹ See Carl E. Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier* (St. Louis, 1939).

DOCUMENTS

A JOURNAL OF THE FIRST DRAGOONS IN THE IOWA TERRITORY, 1844

Edited by Robert Rutland

Although statehood for Iowa was only two years away, the frontier still embraced the western two-thirds of the Iowa territorial boundaries in 1844. Technically, the Territory extended northward to the Canadian border. Practically, the fringe of settlement along the Mississippi Valley was advancing, but beyond these eastern outposts of civilized society was the Indian country. In this Indian territory, or what remained of it, martial law prevailed. Here the soldier was both a policeman and a guardian. As relentless forces shoved the red man ever westward, the frontier soldiers' responsibilities multiplied.

The treaty negotiated with the Sauk and Fox Indians in October, 1842, was consistent with a policy which had as its primary objective the obliteration of the Indian title to the prairies. By this agreement the Sauk and Fox ceded to the United States what amounted to the greater portion of central Iowa, north from the Missouri boundary to the "Neutral Ground."¹ In return for this cession, the Indians received an annuity and funds to pay off traders' debts. They also promised to move from the land before three years had passed. The way was then cleared for surveyors — those ominous forerunners of the white man's way — and the sale of what the Commissioner of Indian Affairs called "about ten million acres of as fine land, probably, as the world can produce."² Within a year's time most of the

¹⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, 596-99. For a map of Iowa Indian cessions, see Roscoe L. Lokken, *Iowa Public Land Disposal* (Iowa City, 1942), 15. The Neutral Ground was a strip of land forty miles wide and almost two hundred miles long which ran from the Des Moines River in the present Webster and Humboldt counties northeastward to the Mississippi in Allamakee County. It was established by the federal government between the Sioux and Sauk and Fox tribes as a buffer zone to prevent the continuous intertribal warfare. See Jacob Van der Zee, "The Neutral Ground," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 13:311-48 (July, 1915).

² *Senate Document*, No. 1, 28 Cong., 1 Sess. (1843-1844), 264.

Sauk and Fox, led by Keokuk, had voluntarily withdrawn from the treaty lands "without a murmur or a whine about the change. . . ." ³

Conveniently located within this vast ceded tract, at the confluence of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers, was Fort Des Moines. The outpost had been built early in 1843 to provide a garrison for troops charged with protecting the Indians while they fulfilled their treaty obligations.⁴ The post was garrisoned by Company I, First Dragoons, United States Army, commanded by Captain James Allen. For the better part of the next three years, Fort Des Moines was a center for patrolling activity in the central Iowa territory. The 1844 dragoon expedition under Captain Allen's command was ordered by the War Department primarily "to prevent Indian hostilities by the exhibition of military force on and beyond our frontier."⁵ These displays of strength were part of a standing army policy which in 1844 sent the entire First Dragoons on a march across the uncharted western plains and prairies.

Indians, and particularly the troublesome Sioux, were not the only frontier problem, however. The lack of reliable geographical information was another element which hindered the orderly settlement of the western country. Army topographical and surveying expeditions were the advance guard of land office agents and townsite promoters. Captain Allen's mission therefore included not only a show of strength before the hostile Indians to the north, but also an endeavor to collect information about the country traversed. His orders directed him to follow the Des Moines River to its source and to seek the source of the Blue Earth River, and thus confirm reports concerning the headwaters of these rivers. The dragoons were then to turn west toward the Missouri River and return to Fort Des Moines "through the country of the Pottawatomies."⁶

The First Dragoons, created by Congress in 1833, knew Iowa well. Their first commander, Colonel Henry Dodge, was a veteran of the Black Hawk War who later served as governor of the Wisconsin Territory. Lieu-

³ *Idem.*

⁴ Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City, 1917), 95.

⁵ *House Executive Document*, No. 1, 28 Cong., 2 Sess. (1844-1845), 130.

⁶ Captain Allen's report and journal of the 1844 expedition, originally published in *House Executive Document*, No. 168, 29 Cong., 1 Sess. (1845-1846), was edited by Jacob Van der Zee in the *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 11:73-108 (January, 1913). (Hereafter, references to "Allen's Journal" refer to the *JOURNAL* edition.)

tenant Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, who succeeded Dodge, had crossed Iowa in 1820 while seeking a satisfactory route between Camp Missouri (near the present Omaha) and Camp Cold Water (later Fort Snelling).⁷ Kearny later commanded three companies of the First Dragoons which traveled from Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, to the first Fort Des Moines, which was established along the river bank in what is now Lee County, in 1834. During the next year Kearny led an expedition up the Des Moines River to Wabasha's village (near the present site of Winona, Minnesota) across the "Iowa District" — as a member of his staff later designated the country. This officer, Lieutenant Albert Miller Lea of Company I, published a description of the territory in 1836 as *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory*, "the book that gave Iowa its name."⁸ The first Fort Des Moines was abandoned in 1837 when the companies of the First Dragoons set off for Fort Leavenworth. The erection of the second Fort Des Moines in 1843 was preceded by the occupation of Fort Atkinson in the summer of 1841 by Captain Edwin V. Sumner with Company B, First Dragoons.⁹ Company B was charged with the responsibility of protecting the weakened Winnebago tribe living in the "Neutral Ground." Protection in this case meant both the driving away of the Indians who quarreled with the Winnebago band, and policing the region in search of white whiskey dealers who capitalized on the Indian's weakness for ardent spirits.

When the 1844 expedition moved into the Sioux country, it became apparent that the Indians were, by accident or design, avoiding contact with the dragoons. Only scattered bands were encountered, which somewhat detracted from the main purpose of the mission, and the expedition turned into an exploration party. Another of its aims was fulfilled in the fifty-four day march, however, for it was an integral part of the army's frontier policy to get troops away from the tedious garrison life during the summer months. The boredom of frontier duty became almost unbearable to many men who had expected life in the West to consist of an unending series of

⁷ The military post at Fort Snelling, in Minnesota at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers, was established in 1819, and received its present name in 1825. For Kearny's route see William J. Petersen, "Kearny in Iowa," *The Palimpsest*, 12:313 (August, 1931).

⁸ The State Historical Society of Iowa reprinted Lea's book in 1935. The original work was titled *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory, Particularly with reference to the Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase* (Philadelphia, 1836).

⁹ The post was abandoned in 1849. It was located in the present Winneshiek County, Iowa.

splendid adventures.¹⁰ Orders for an expedition were always welcome because they represented a change from monotonous garrison drills and inspections to the open prairies, where a buffalo hunt or deer chase was in prospect. What soldier would not prefer standing on ground which shook from the hoof beats of a thousand buffalo than on a hot parade square! Then, after weeks or months in the field, the return to barracks life was anticipated as eagerly as the departure had been.

On the march, the dragoons frequently heard the "first call" at 2 a. m. Food and fodder were prepared for the men and their mounts. Then came "veille," followed by a short breakfast, after which tents were struck and wagons loaded with baggage. When the bugler sounded "assembly" the column was ready to move into line on the dew-covered grasslands. After a tiring ride of eight or nine hours in the saddle, marching sometimes over hot, parched prairies, and at other times through marshy sloughs, the expeditions would camp shortly after noon or earlier, depending on the mission and the condition of the animals. Ordinarily, the horses were permitted to graze throughout the afternoon, while the men rested, did their laundry, and cleaned equipment. Then the horses were placed in an inclosure and picketed for the night.¹¹ Before "tattoo" sounded the dragoons smoked, swapped stories, relived old campaigns, and wrote letters or entries in their journals. This was an age of diary-keepers, both military and civilian. Privates, generals, sergeants, and lieutenants all kept diaries; and many which were preserved have shed considerable light on a colorful period in American history which might have been otherwise neglected.

Unfortunately, the diaries and journals kept by these military frontiersmen sometimes fell into unsympathetic hands, and eventually the author's identity was lost.¹² The journal which follows falls in this same category. Negative evidence is always unsatisfactory, but we at least know that our journal-keeper was not an officer in Company I. He knew the expedition's mission, however, and was an observant traveler whenever fatigue did not

¹⁰ Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons* . . ., 59-60. A more disheartening picture is created by [James Hildreth?], *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1836), 9, 115-16.

¹¹ Everett Dick, *The Story of the Frontier* (New York, 1941), 96-7; Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York, 1866), 136.

¹² As was the case with another Company I journal: Louis Pelzer (ed.), "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834-1835," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 7:331-78 (July, 1909).

prevent an account of the day's activity. A calculated guess would place the writer as a noncommissioned officer serving under Lieutenant Patrick Noble. More important than the writer's identity is the fact of the recent discovery of this journal in an out-of-the-way San Francisco shop, and its acquisition by the State Historical Society of Iowa. It was probably written in its present form from rough notes made in the field, but the spirit of the march is retained in the surviving manuscript.

While the 1844 journal is essentially in agreement with the one kept by Captain Allen, there are sufficient allusions to decisions and discomforts to justify the assertion that the unidentified journal-keeper added valuable information to the historical storehouse of Iowana. The second part of the journal is an account of the 1845 joint expedition of Companies I and B to the Devil's Lake region in what is now North Dakota. This account considerably expands the brief report made by Captain Edwin V. Sumner (in *House Executive Document*, No. 2, 29 Cong., 1 Sess. (1845-1846), 217-20), and will be published in the April issue of the JOURNAL.

A Journal of March For the year 1844.

The following named Officers accompanied the command, Capt. James Allen, 1st U. S. Dragoons, commanding, Asst. [Surgeon] J. S. Griffin, 2nd Lt. Calhoun of 2nd Dragoons, acting Lt. of Co. I., 2nd Lt. Noble, first Dragoons 2nd Lt. of Co. I. Brevet 2nd Lt. Potter, acting quarter Master.¹³ the number of noncommissioned Off. and privates was 54. There were four waggons for the transportation of Provisions, Hospital, Stores, &c. The Officers and men appeared to be in fine spirits when [departing] on the morning of 11 of August 1844

The command took up the line of march for the Prairie, the horses were good and in fair order, several accidents occurred at the start, such as horses throwing their riders, but on the whole everything went on well. The opening of the Campaign, marching 5 miles in a N.W. Direction we

¹³ Captain Allen graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1829 with Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and Charles Mason as his classmates. He served with the Schoolcraft mission to the Northwest in 1832, and had been an officer with the First Dragoons since 1833. John S. Griffin began his army service in 1840. Patrick Calhoun of South Carolina, son of John C. Calhoun, graduated from the Academy in 1841. Patrick Noble, another South Carolina appointee, was graduated with the class of 1842. Joseph H. Potter ranked next to Ulysses S. Grant in the class of 1843. William H. Powell (comp.), *List of Officers of the Army of the United States . . .* (New York, 1900), 158, 227, 343, 506, 537.

came to the Beaver a stout creek making into the Des Moines River, a few miles below us, which was crossed without much difficulty we followed it up a few miles when it becoming late, Capt. Allen encamped on it.

Course this day N.W. Distance 8 miles.

Monday 12th Aug.

Some of the Oxen having got loose during the night we were detained a few hours in consequence, having recovered them, tents were struck and the march resumed over a level and tolerable fine prairie, the camping place was reached at a seasonable hour, without any incident of interest, it was within a few miles of the Des Moines River.¹⁴

Course N.N.W. Distance 15 miles.

Tuesday 13th Aug.

Made an early start and marched nearly paralell [sic] to Des Moines, a great deal of difficulty was experienced in crossing slues, which were numerous and ugly¹⁵ we reached however finally an excellent camping place about two miles from the river. It was on a brow of a ravine covered over with wild honeysuckles and pea Vines. prairie passed over level and sloughy.

Course N. W. Distance 20 Miles

Wednesday 14th Aug.

Made an early start and passed over a high level prairie, thickly covered

¹⁴ Compare this terse account with the more valuable one recorded by Dragoon Lieutenant J. Henry Carleton, written on the same day while Carleton was near the Missouri River on another expedition. "The ground is usually selected by the Quarter-master, who generally marches with the Pioneers under his command, some mile or two in advance of the troops. In choosing it he has an eye not only to beauty and strength of position, but also to its convenience to wood and water. Above all, he must be careful to have fine grass at hand in abundance, amongst which to picket the horses and mules. . . . If the encampment is upon a stream — and it generally is so — our Squadron is formed along its bank, and facing it. The next takes position upon its right, facing outward — the next upon its left, also facing outward. The wagons and howitzers are parked upon the fourth side, under charge of the guard. . . . As soon as each Squadron has got its place the men are all dismounted, when they immediately strip their horses upon the very ground they occupy, and lead them off out of the square. After finding a good spot of grass in the neighborhood, each man there pickets his horse." Lieutenant J. Henry Carleton, *The Prairie Logbooks*, edited by Louis Pelzer (Chicago, 1943), 10-11.

¹⁵ Heavy rains during the summer of 1844 apparently delayed the expedition from an earlier start. These rains would also account for the "numerous and ugly" sloughs. The prairie sloughs were shallow lakes which dotted the undrained grasslands during and after the spring and summer rains. They were also known as "slews," "slows," and "sloos."

with *slues*. the heat was considerable. camped at a seasonable hour on a clear pebbly stream running between bluffs, and in a S. E. Direction. the river a few miles off.

Course N. W. Distance 20 Miles

Thursday 15th Aug.

Resumed the line of march up the Des Moines, at an early hour and passed over a rolling prairie, with *slues* here and there as usual. seen some Elk to our left. camped at a usual hour on a bluff between two ravines about half a mile from the Des Moines, which there is a pretty stream. On leave [sic] exhibited signs of failing and some of the Horses backs of getting sore. It rained during the night.

Course N. W. Distance 15 miles.

Friday 16th Aug.

Took up the line of march at an early hour, and in a short time struck Lizard Creek, which we crossed about two miles from its mouth.¹⁶ this is a respectable creek with bluffy banks and pebbly bottom. it is well wooded. Its general course is S. E. Encamped on it at an early hour where its course is nearly circular, its banks being very high and steep. A great quantity of game was met with in the Vicinity of Camp. Jones the guide killed an Elk, others Deer &c. prairie passed over on this days march rolling and firm. Course N.N.W. Distance 8 miles. During the night a severe thunder storm came up from N.W. the lightning was incessant and vivid, the thunder was loud and reverberated in a sublime manner over the vast prairies, and was finally lost down the river in a distant roar. we were now ten miles within the Neutral ground.

Saturday 17th Aug.

Still in Camp. I rode out to the river two miles distant, and saw a fine coal bed on the bank. The whole bank or bluff appeared to be a solid mass of coal. Tabular masses of Red stone are to be seen scattered at intervals over the prairie.¹⁷ they present the appearance of having been torn from the primitive beds by some violent convulsion of nature, and by some unknown force transported to their present locations. the Des Moines river at this point rocky and clear

¹⁶ A few miles from the future site of Fort Dodge, which was erected in 1850 and for a time known as Fort Clarke.

¹⁷ When Company I of the First Dragoons had passed through this same region in 1835, Lieutenant Albert Miller Lea made similar observations about the area's geological formations. See his *Notes on Wisconsin Territory* . . . , 12-13.

Sunday 18th Augt.

Tents were struck at an early hour and the line of march taken up nearly paralell to the Des Moines, a succession of the most terrible *slues* we encountered and crossed. It required the united exertions of all hands to extricate the waggons from some of them. In consequence, but 12 miles were made though in the saddle more or less for 12 hours. we arrived in camp at 8 P. M. and consequently we had to pitch our tents in the dark. This camp was nearly opposite the forks of the river.¹⁸ there is an East[,] middle and west fork, the latter being the main one. the men and horses were much fatigued.

Course N. W. Distance 12 miles

Monday 19th Augt.

Started early, the tongue of staff waggon broke in crossing the small branch upon which we had encamped. after a short detention to repair it the route was resumed towards the West Fork, which Capt. Allen determined to cross. a good crossing being found it was forded without difficulty. The bottoms were very rocky. the crossing was made but a few miles above the Fork. abundance of Iron ore was found at this place.¹⁹ after crossing we kept up the stream and close to it. arrived at the camp early on the river prairies passed over of a rolling and rocky character. Limestone, Predominating rock

Course N. W. Distance 10 miles

Tuesday 20th Augt.

Made an early start and kept up the river, it being Capt. Allen's intention to follow it to its source. after passing over some beautiful rolling prairies we struck a broad deep *slue* supposed to be the outlet of a Lake, and followed it up for two or three miles in hopes of finding a crossing in which we were disappointed. Capt. Allen then encamped at a point where a few willow bushes grew, their *[sic]* being no other timber in view. the course of the *slue* was towards the river. abundant of ducks found in it

¹⁸ Captain Allen alludes to this spot, the forks of the Des Moines River in south-central Humboldt County, as the "Delaware Battleground." The incident was famous on the prairies, and one of the best accounts is in Carleton, *Prairie Logbooks*, 136-8. Carleton's version mentions a Delaware hunting party of sixteen warriors, all of whom were massacred by the Sioux band in the fall of 1841. The lone survivor was a young Potawatomi brave, the son of Half Day, who had joined the Delaware hunters. He traveled on foot to Council Bluffs to report the affair.

¹⁹ Captain Allen identified this crossing point as the "Iron Banks," where a limestone ledge near the ford rose twenty feet. "Allen's Journal," 87.

REFERENCES

Boundaries between Indian Tribes

Trails

Camps *

Indian Villages o



This exact reproduction of most of the hitherto unpublished map of the 1844 dragoon march, prepared by Lieutenant Joseph Haydn Potter, reveals the young officer to have been both a poor speller and an inaccurate map-maker. Note that he shared Captain Allen's confusion about the rivers in western and central Iowa.

The young dragoon officer drew the map to accompany Captain Allen's report of the expedition. A revised map, prepared for the printed report, was never published. The Potter map was buried in the files of the War Department until its recent discovery by the Cartographic Records branch of the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

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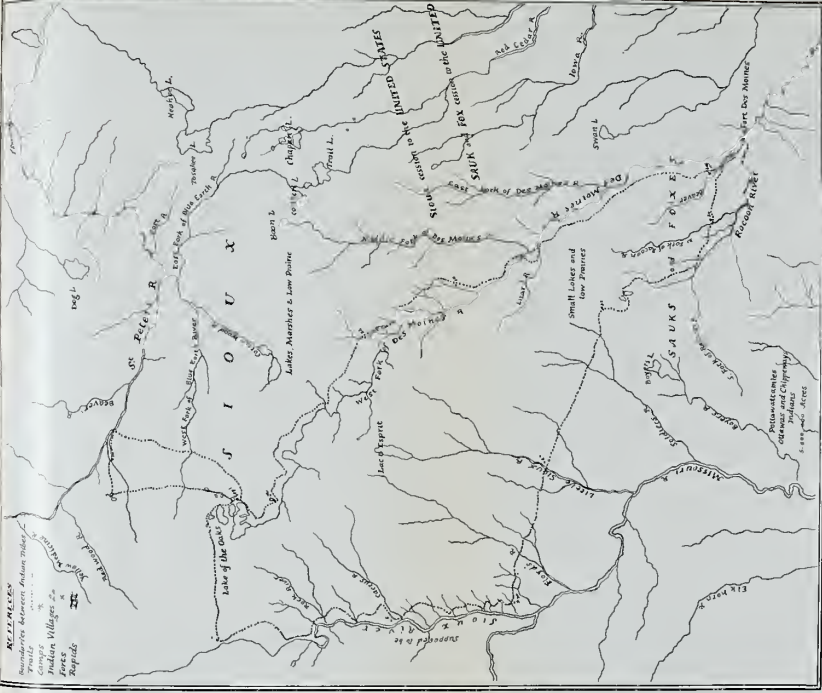
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NOTES

Boundaries between Indian Tribes
 Trails
 Indian Villages
 Forests
 Rapids



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Course N. W. Distance 15 miles.

Wednesday 21st Augt.

Took up the line of march at an early hour, and toiled during the day over a terrible prairie full of the worst sort of *slues*. the waggons would sink to their axles and it repeatedly required the combined efforts of all the men and double teams to extricate them. some of them soft places extended for a hundred yards. It commenced about 5. P. M. to rain in torrents, at the same time a raw and strong wind came down from the North. there was timber about four miles off to our left which Capt. Allen attempted to reach, but darkness coming on rendered our progress slow and toilsome. It still continued to rain hard, the incessant and vivid lightning above enabled us to see one another. the Waggons having become seperated [sic] and it appearing impossible to reach the timber, Capt. Allen halted on the firmest ground he could find and every one had to shift for himself as well as he was able untill morning, without supper or shelter.

Course N. Distance 15 Miles.

Thursday 22nd Augt.

Made an early start and pursued a N.W. course. the late rains had swelled the *slues* so much that it was difficult on many occasions to cross them, without the help of Pontoon Waggon body, which however was put [out] but once at a wide running *slue*.²⁰ the Ox team was out of sight nevertheless we pursued forwards towards the timber, which we found to belong to a long narrow Lake with an abundance of Beautiful timber.²¹ Capt. Allen encamped on it.

Course N. W. Distance 6 miles.

Friday 23rd Augt.

Still in Camp weather fine but cool, Jones shot an Elk but could not get him. plenty of Ducks killed. the Lake did not appear to be deep. the river is to the left of it, but few fish were caught.

Saturday 24th Augt.

Still in Camp. Capt. Allen sent for the Ox team, which has not yet arrived. It got in at dark, weather fine, night moonlight.

²⁰ The pontoon wagons were made of wooden flat-bottomed boats of varying length and about six feet wide, mounted on wheels. "One ponton [sic] wagon proved to be more serviceable than a dozen . . . India-rubber boats. . . ." Carleton, *Prairie Logbooks*, 44.

²¹ Medium Lake in Palo Alto County.

Sunday 25th Aug.

The Command took up the line of march at an early hour. after marching a short distance, struck a neck connecting two small lakes which with the help of Pontoon Waggon body was crossed, after which the horses were made to swim over. the country at every moment becomes more and more Laky and difficult to travel. they frequently threw Capt. Allen a great distance out of his course (N.W.) forcing him to bear well to the North to avoid or cross them. these lakes appear to be running in a zig zag N. W. S. E. they are generally sparsely wooded, and but few fish. the marching this day was difficult on account of soft places. It was supposed by some that the Des Moines River headed among these lakes.

Course N. Distance 8 miles.

Monday 26th Augt.

Resumed the march at an early hour and had to bear well to the N. E. on account of the nature of the country, which yet continues to be of a Lakey Character. these lakes struck Northward and are mostly connected. our progress was rendered slow and fatiguing by bad places. no timber to be seen in any direc[tion] but N. W. Finally it seemed as we could get no further without crossing a Lake.²² So Capt. Allen encamped on one at 3 P. M. we saw Buffalo signs this day. the weather was clear and cool.

Course N. N. E. Distance 7 miles.

Tuesday 27th Augt.

Tents were struck at an early hour, and preparations [sic] made to cross the lake, at point near the camp, where it was about 100 yards wide. five hours were consumed in crossing, as everything (Loading) had to be ferried over in the Pontoon Waggon body. this waggon fully subserves the purpose for which it was built. our course was now northerly and we marched over grounds very similar to what we had been lately passing over. saw timber to our right which was supposed to be on a stream making into Blue Earth, or St. Peters [Minnesota River]. Camped on a slue in the Prairie.

Course N. N. W. Distance 6 miles.

Wednesday 28th Augt.

Made an early start and marched in a N. W. Direction. we got along

²² The journal-keeper's commanding officer considered this site, between Mud and Swan lakes in Emmet County, and the surrounding land, "good for nothing except for the seclusion and safety it affords to the numerous water fowl that are hatched and grown in it." "Allen's Journal," 89.

this day pretty smoothly. Lt. Calhoun left the Command and rode to the right of it, to some timber we saw and reported that it was on a stream of some size running boldly from a lake. he supposed it to be Blue Earth.²³ toward evening we came most unexpectedly on the Des Moines River, which was about the size of the Beaver River at the point where we struck it. timber on it spare. in crossing a small stream at this point the tongue of the Ox Waggon broke. encamped at dark on the River.

Course N. W. Distance 12 miles.

Thursday 29th Augt.

Struck camp early and marched up the stream, hugging it as close as practicable. it runs through a most beautiful country high Rolling Bluffs &c. came across a few Elk, none killed. passed several small lakes. we now were evidently [sic] getting into a higher region of Country. Encamped on a pretty lake two miles from the River. the river at this point appears not to have diminished since we first struck it, it is about 15 yards wide. the timber on it scattering. we will no doubt reach the Head Waters of Des Moines river to day or tomorrow.

Course N. N. W. Distance 20 miles.

Friday 30th Augt.

Resumed the line of march at an early hour and still hugging the River as close as practicable. our march was over most beautiful rolling rocky prairies.²⁴ after marching 13 miles up stream, it makes an abrupt turn to the S.S.E. its general course before was N. N. W. (up stream) encamped early, timber becoming more scarce. It is still a stout stream little or none diminished from what it was two days ago. No game of consequence has been seen lately. No Buffalo, the muisquitoes were terrible during the night.²⁵ some of the horses broke their Larriettes in consequence.

²³ Lt. Calhoun was joined by Jones, the civilian guide who accompanied the expedition. They found "a lake 7 or 10 miles long, of beautiful character, with bright pebbled shores. . . ." "Allen's Journal," 90. This is Lake Okamanpedan on what is now the Iowa-Minnesota border. It has also been known as Turtle Lake, Tuttle Lake, and Okamanpidu Lake.

²⁴ This brief comment suffers by contrast with the colorful statement made by another dragoon in 1845, who wrote: "And here we are once more upon the prairies, and surrounded by nature in all her purity and her bloom. No plough has ever furrowed these fields, nor has the axe sullied the loveliness of these groves. As they have always been do we behold them now — clothed in the surpassing beauty with which they were decorated by the hand of the Creator. Who wonders that such scenes as these win men from the hackneyed gaities of the crowded city and the rife and affected blandishments of society?" Carleton, *Prairie Logbooks*, 173.

²⁵ Mosquitoes were a terror of the Iowa prairies during the hot season. While crossing the future Iowa in 1820 the noted soldier, Captain Stephen W. Kearny,

Course N. N. W. Distance 16 miles.

Saturday 31st Augt.

Made an early start. Capt. Allen directed our course to some timber we could see N.W.W. thus leaving the stream. after marching a few miles, Jones thought he saw some buffalo. the command was halted and a party sent out. in the meanwhile a few men went and stationed themselves to the left of the Command for the purpose of heading the Buffalo, should they be started. while awaiting the appearance of them they seen a large black bear to which chase was immediately given. he was finally headed into the Command, where an indiscriminate firing was begun. he was of course soon despatched with innumerable rounds. his meat was very good. the hunters returned without seeing buffalo, however some Elk were seen and shot at by Co. I. Dragoons. the march resumed and timber reached. It was a lake of some size (2 miles Long and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide) encamped on it.²⁶ a stream taken to be the Des Moines or a branch of it a mile to our left. It turned out to be the main stream. Lake pretty well wooded in parts, prairie passed over level and dry.

Course N. W. W. Distance 9 miles.

Sunday 1st Sept.

Capt. Allen took the efficient portion of the Command and a mule team, and left camp in search of Blue Earth. all officers accompanied him but Lt. Noble who remained in charge of Camp. Capt. Allen expected to be absent 7 days. he started off in a nearly westerly direction. There were abundance of wild pigeons on the Lake. good size Cat fish were caught by the men. during the night there was a heavy gale of wind, also the night before. It came from S. W.

Monday 2nd Sept.

Still in Camp weather delightful, muisquitoes horrible. there is not much timber on the Des Moines where we now are. there are many small lakes in the Vicinity. Capt. Allen sent a note by Bugler Marsh to Lt. Noble

found them particularly bothersome. His complaint entered on July 6 was frequently repeated. "Last night we found quite cool, & three blankets, for a covering, were by no means uncomfortable. The mosquitoes, however, were very troublesome & tho' I am benefitted by Lieut. Talcot's *mosquito net*, we had not sufficiently secured it to prevent the entrance of these annoying little insects." "An Expedition Across Iowa in 1820," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 10:345 (January-April, 1912).

²⁶ The J. H. Colton Minnesota map of 1855 indicates an unnamed lake [Oaks Lake?] as slightly east and north of Lake Talcott.

in which he stated he had encamped (Sunday Night) on a lake about 20 miles from him, and directed him to march the Detachment there, by thursday or friday and await his return.²⁷

Tuesday 3rd Sept.

Struck tents at an early hour, and marched on Capt. Allen's trail. the prairies passed over high and rolling, and afforded frequently very fine prospects of miles in extent. we stuck in several places but soon got out. encamped at an early hour on the Des Moines, which was then again stuck [struck?]. It at this point was nearly as large as 50 miles below. timber poor and spare.

Course N. N. E. Distance 15 miles

Wednesday 4th Sept.

Struck tents at the usual hour and kept when practicable on Capt. Allen's trail. came to some lakes, out of one of which the Des Moines comes forth a bold stream of ten feet width. this then must be the head of the river. after marching five miles, encamped on a fine lake, fringed with majestic cotton wood. here Lt. Noble encamped to await Capt. Allen's return. had some sleet and rain during the early part of the day, but it cleared off most beautifully in the evening. Course N. W. Distance 5 miles. this makes according to my calculations 242 miles in 25 days including stoppages.

Thursday 5th Sept.

This day I mounted my horse with the intention of exploring the chain of lakes in which the Des Moines has its source. I rode five or six miles before I reached its termination. it consists of a number of lakes varying from one to four miles in length and half to two broad. they are all connected by *slues*. The chain runs N.W.S.E. and is about ten miles in length.²⁸ as before mentioned the river issues from the last of the chain. these lakes are pretty well timbered with Oak, Cotton Wood, Ash, Maple &c. there are but few fish in them. Millions of Ducks, besides pelicans and swans float upon the surface. the beaches are sandy and pebbly at a point near the centre [sic] of the chain. I ascended the most lofty bluff in the

²⁷ According to Captain Allen the camp was by a small lake "a quarter of a mile from the larger one [Shetek Lake]." Earlier that day the dragoon commander believed he had crossed a Sioux trail, but the presence of tracks obviously made by shod horses raised doubts in Allen's mind. "Allen's Journal," 93.

²⁸ The 1855 Colton map of Minnesota shows five lakes grouped at the "Head Waters of the Des Moines River." Tibbetts Lake in the present Murray County, Minnesota, was also designated as "The Great Oasis" as early as 1855.

neighbourhood which was capped by a mound (perhaps artificial) some twenty yards in diameter and eight yards high, from which a most lovely prospect is to be obtained, to the N. W. W. and S. W. one vast extent of prairie, stretched heavy and undulating, with not a stick of timber to break the view. It appeared indeed a wilderness of prairie. to the S. and S. E. many clips [clumps?] of timber are visible, no doubt on lakes as the day was clear. I should suppose that the vision embraced an extent of 20 or 30 miles to the west and S.W. on each side of the chain there are small lakes which do not appear to have any connection. the character of the adjacent prairies, except to the S. and S.E. is rolling and rocky. no game of large size was seen on any of the lakes. a small branch comes in the Des Moines at its source from S. W. this no doubt is from a lake. a strip of timber were visible some miles up it, N. 44°. If I were asked my opinion upon the prospects of Des Moines ever being settled above Raccoon Forks, I should say it never will pay the settlers above Lizard Creek. timber is too scarce and the soil too stiff and moist, above this creek it never can be settled with any probability of affording more than the common necessities of life. Game as well as timber being scarce.²⁹

Friday 6th Sept.

Still in Camp. the day set in with rain accompanied towards noon with a disagreeable wind from N. W. which made it quite cool. It continued during the night. Capt. Allen returned this evening having struck the St Peters River about 60 miles N. E. of us.

Saturday 7th Sept.

The morning became pleasant about 9. A. M. Capt. Allen removed the camp a few hundred yards higher up on the same lake, and remained there the rest of the day. The weather fine. thus far there has been no sickness with the exception of a few cases of Fever and ague.³⁰ should observe that

²⁹ When Captain Kearny reached Camp Cold Water (Fort Snelling) in July, 1820, he declared the lack of timber and water, plus the "high & precipitous Mountains & hills that we climbed over," made the country unattractive to settlement. "A very great portion of the country in the neighborhood of our route [between Council Bluffs and Fort Snelling] could be of no other object (at any time) to our gov't in the acquisition of it, than the expulsion of the savages from it, & the driving them nearer to the N. West, & the Pacific for the disadvantages . . . will forever prevent its supporting more than a thinly scattered population." "Expedition Across Iowa in 1820," 357. Twenty-four years later, Captain Allen concurred with Kearny. "This country is too poor, bleak, and broken to attract white men much, but it looks wild enough for an Indian and is remote enough for all large game." "Allen's Journal," 95.

³⁰ Fever and ague were such common illnesses that the off-hand allusion by the

generally a halt was made at noon to rest the horses as well as the men. this was done throughout the whole journey a horse that had given out was shot at this camp.

Sunday 8th Sept.

Still in Camp, weather pleasant. nothing worthy of interest occurred.

Monday 9th Sept.

Took up the line of march at the usual hour and headed [up] the chain of lakes, where we struck a large Sioux trail made in the Spring and leading to some point on the St. Peters. our course which to this point (5 m) had been N.W. was changed to W. S. W. after marching a few miles no timber at all to be seen except in rear. we camped at dark on a *slue*, in the middle of a inverse level prairie [?]. the prairie marched over this day was of a level and sandy character, in some places rolling.

Course W. S. W. Distance 26 miles

Tuesday 10th

Made a very early start and marched in direction W. S. W. saw three buffalo which were killed in short order, all being keen for the sport of running them.³¹ it was quite exciting. Also saw antelope, saw a River in a W. course supposed to be the Big Sioux. Capt. Allen encamped on it early. two sioux Indians shortly after came visiting our camp and showed every sign of wishing to be considered friendly. more came after a while. their lodges quite near. they said that their was a trading House two days travel down the river. river now about 15 yards wide and full of fish. timber not very abundant. prairie passed over slightly rolling and hard. Course of river S. W. S. we had a heavy frost this night.

Course W. S. W. Distance 14 miles.

Wednesday 11th Sept.

Made an early start and marched in direction W.S.W. following the general direction of the river, which at this point made a bend Southward (a considerable bend) Capt. Allen made a short cut across it. early in the day a single buffalo was seen, and killed. Jones killed an antelope which

journal-keeper may be excused. In 1844 the "shakes" were known throughout the prairie country, but "miasma" and not the mosquito was blamed for the misery caused by the malarial disorder. See William J. Petersen, "Diseases and Doctors in Pioneer Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 49:100-102 (April, 1951).

³¹ Captain Allen records this incident, which was noteworthy because of an unusual feat of marksmanship. "Lieutenant Potter killed the first one in full chase by the first shot of his pistol." "Allen's Journal," 97.

came in range of his rifle, attached [attracted] by the profound bordering of red which that worthy individual sported on his hunting shirt, sometimes allows its curiosity [*sic*] to get the better of its judgement [*sic*]. another herd of buffalo, started late one evening and chased, by some of the more ardent spirits. four were killed.³² soon after the advanced party, Capt. Allen and Orderly Bugler Marsh and Howlett seen two indians (Sioux) who seemed somewhat afraid to approach, but on being beckoned to by the worthy ones, approached at full speed which is their custom, and were disposed to be remarkably friendly, stretching out their hands at every one. they said there were a large fork two days journey down the river where there was a trading House. we soon after this came across their lodges which were conical and neatly constructed by well dressed skins. we encamped at dark on the River, which is but Little lower than when we first struck it, the looks of the Banks and timber is very like the Missouri [*sic*] river. prairies passed over high rolling and hard.

Course S. W. S. Distance 30 miles.

Thursday 12th.

During the night 8 or 10 horses and mules got away either stolen or strayed away on their own accord. Capt. Allen sent out parties in search of them all recovered but four. this day very fine. Buffalo seen in great abundance. Large cat fish caught in the River. the river here is about the size of Raccoon River at its mouth.

Friday 13th Sept.

Took up the line of march at an early hour and kept down the river, which now where [went?] S. E. by the by some think that this is Floyds River. after marching about 12 miles we came to a beautiful waterfall in the river.³³ singularly large boulders of Granite, Magnificent bluffs, Great bends &c., in turn encircled [*sic*] admiration. the falls are about 60 feet in height, not a perpendicular fall but a succession of them. the bed was entirely of Rock in ledges. the river at this place makes a great bend to N.E. in which direction it continues to the Fork, ten miles below. It there takes a S. S. E. course. we crossed over lovely prairies a herd of Buffalo seen and chased, some killed. we encamped at sun down in the Fork of the

³² The four bison shot down by the Dragoons were bulls, and were left, Captain Allen noted, after they took the tongues (a frontier delicacy) and marrow bones. "Allen's Journal," 99. This casual journal entry poignantly indicates how the white man hastened the near extinction of the once-vast bison herds.

³³ Sioux Falls, in what is now Minnehaha County, South Dakota.

Sioux river, and another stream ten feet wide coming from the N. W.

Course S. Distance 25 miles.

Saturday 14th

We made this morning rather a late start and followed a S. E. S. course that being the direction in which the river ran. Crossed the Fork coming in from N. W. struck another Fork of small size, in which the camp was made. the river at this point is of a respectable size.³⁴ it is clear and full of fish, timber scattering a large bull killed close to camp by riflemen. Prairies passed over very high rolling and stony. River here larger than Raccoon River at its mouth.

Course S. E. S. Distance 16 miles.

Sunday 15th

Made a good start and marched in direction S. E. E. untill we struck a stream one fourth as large as Sioux river, and running S. W. S.³⁵ supposing that the trading house was in the fork of Sioux Capt. Allen followed it down. we camped on the Sioux³⁶ prairies passed over high rolling and dry, untill the Fork is neared, when it becomes level as a floor, weather delightful.

Course S. E. E. Distance 21 miles.

Monday 16th Sept.

Made an early start and crossed near its mouth. bad crossing marched in S. E. direction and had to cross several ugly *slues*. very little game seen. Jones and Sergt Williams sent to Explore the river by order of Capt. Allen, returned and reported that there was no sign of a trading house. Camped late on a branch where a few willows grew the only timber nearer than that on the river which was six miles off prairies passed over very lofty and rolling. Horses beginning to fail considerably.

³⁴ The expedition had re-entered Iowa Territory in the present Lyon County.

³⁵ Rock River, Sioux County. Contemporary maps refer to the "River of the Rock, or Inyan Reakah River."

³⁶ Captain Allen had expected to find the trading house mentioned by the Sioux hunters here, but found "no trails or appearances of near habitation. . . ." The next day, Captain Allen concluded "that the Indians have basely lied and deceived us in this respect, and for what purpose, I am unable to conceive." "Allen's Journal," 102. Actually, the Indians had not lied. It was more likely the dragoon interpreter who was in error. The Columbia Fur Company had maintained a station near the present Elk Point, S. D., which was probably the trading post alluded to by the Indians. See the map which accompanies volume II of Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (2 vols., New York, 1935).

Course S. E. Distance 22 miles.

Tuesday 17th

Made an early start and struck the Sioux at a point 5 or 6 miles from our last camp. the river at this point is quite as broad as the Des Moines river at Fort Des Moines and has more water. it runs here in a S.S.E. direction. Capt. Allen camped here to rest his horses for the remainder of the day. the grass at this time were turned [was dying] fast and afforded but little nourishment to the horses. the river resembles the Missouri in regard to aspect of banks bluffs and bottom.

Course S. E. S. Distance 6 miles. Latitude 42° — 48.9 .

Wednesday 18th

Took up the line of March at an early hour pursued a S.S.E. course following the divide of the river. Hounds of mule team broke detained some time in consequence.³⁷ after marching west 12 miles we unexpectedly came in view of a large body of timber running S. E. I supposed it might be the misouri river or the bottom. we now struck a terrible range of bluffs, steep and difficult to surmount. they look like an uneven potatoe field we camped among them on a clear branch bordered by low ground covered with Pea Vines.³⁸

Course S. S. E. Distance 15 miles.

Thursday 19th

Took up the line of march at an early hour, followed the river Sioux which preserved its S. E. S. course. very steep and high bluffs rendered our progress very slow. fine view from the bluffs of the Missouri bottom was truly splendid. the bottom averages about 7 miles in width and extending for hundreds of miles above and below, the bluffs run paralell to the river they are full of ravines thick with pea Vines and continuing [containing] fine timber and cool clear water. the bluffs are chalky and conical covered with poor grass. they are pebbled in a most singular manner. we

³⁷ The rough terrain was taking its toll of the expedition's cumbersome wagon train. In addition to the broken wagon, another overturned twice. This "hounds" probably was a reinforcing bar which was joined to the wagon tongue and fore-carriage.

³⁸ There was an excellent reason for the selection of camping sites near the pea vines. The wild pea vines were the "alfalfa of the prairies" for wandering frontiersmen. "While the column was halted . . . the animals were stripped, and allowed to feed upon the wild pea-vine, which grew here in great abundance. Horses and mules prefer the leaves of this plant to the best of grass, and thrive upon them quite as well, if not better, than upon grain, even." Carleton, *Prairie Logbooks*, 32.

camped in a ravine about four miles from the mouth of Sioux river, which here is as large as Des Moines river at its mouth. turkey and deer in abundance. we had rain on us during the night.

Course S. E. S. Distance 9 miles.

Friday 20th

Capt. Allen decided to remain in camp to day, in order to get the hounds of a waggon repaired. it rained this day and turned out cool. Capt. Allen rode to the mouth of Sioux river.³⁹ during the night it turned very cool. as a extraordinary circumstance I will mention that a mule died this day.

Saturday 21st

Made an early start Capt. Allen appears determined to make a straight cut for Fort Des Moines I. T. we left the Missouri and made an effort to disentangle us from the bluffs, which are six or seven miles broad. we met with difficulty in crossing deep cut branches which were now frequently met with.

Course S. E. E. Distance 8 miles.

Sunday 22nd

Made a very early start and marched in a E. course for the purpose of getting on a level prairie. a few miles brought us to a large creek making into the Missouri. it was difficult to cross. it may be Floyds River.⁴⁰ came across *slues* between ridges, which were difficult to cross. John Happs team gave out and a horse out of the Hospital waggon. camped late on a *slue* bare of trees.

Course E. Distance 13 miles.

Monday 23rd

Made an early start soon struck a small creek running S. continued numerous *slues* running S. W. they were difficult to cross. encamped late on a dry *slue*.

Course S. E. Distance 16 miles.

³⁹ Captain Allen was still concerned about the identity of the Big Sioux River. With a party of officers he rode to the future site of Sioux City, where he beheld the confluence of the Big Sioux and Missouri rivers. "I shall consider it the Big Sioux, until I shall be better informed," he declared. "Tomorrow I shall march for home by the nearest route I can find." "Allen's Journal," 104-105.

⁴⁰ The stream was, in fact, Floyd's (or the Floyd) River. It was named "Floyd's River" by William Clark and Meriwether Lewis in 1804 as a tribute to a member of their expedition, Sergeant Charles Floyd, who died of dysentery and was buried on a small bluff near the river. In time, popular usage changed the name slightly to the present Floyd River. See William J. Petersen, *Iowa: The Rivers of Her Valleys* (Iowa City, 1941), 246.

Tuesday 24th

Made an early start and struck a river 60 feet broad, supposed to be the little Sioux. It was difficult to cross, though not more than belly deep. hard to get some of the horses over [they were] so weak. Course of this river S. the crossing is about 40 miles from its mouth. timber and pea Vines in abundance on this stream. camped on the little Sioux.

Course S. E. E. Distance 8 miles

Wednesday 25th

Made an early start course S. E. E. met with but little mud. after having marched several miles struck a creek running S. E. [Maple River] some difficulty in crossing we encamped on it. had to leave a horse at little Sioux as he was too weak to travel. 3rd horse left from that cause.⁴¹ hope to get to Fort Des Moines in 10 days.

Course S. E. E. Distance 15 miles.

Thursday 26th

Resumed the march at an early hour. pursued a S.E.E. course, in a few miles the aspect of prairies beginning to change. prairie low and marshy similar to the Des Moines prairies. struck a considerable stream (40 feet wide) in the evening, supposed it to be soldiers river.⁴² Its course here S. S. E. Saw Elk none killed. out of meat.⁴³ camped on this river 60 miles from its mouth. we had a heavy frost during the night

Course S. E. E. Distance 19 miles

Friday 27th

Made an early start and marched in direction S.E.E. in a few miles came across a *slue* 5 yards broad and deep. course south. Difficult to cross saw timber E. went there and found lakes of small size, surrounded by impassable *slues*. camped in the vicinity character of country tolerably changed. level and marshy *slues* not miry country pitching East.

Course S.E.E. Distance 12 miles

⁴¹ While the forage problem was particularly acute for the dragoons, the lack of timber for firewood also caused some discomfort for the officers and men of Company I. In the buffalo country this was no problem because fires could always be built of *bois de vache*, or "buffalo chips," as the frontiersmen called the dried manure.

⁴² This was probably the Boyer River, since the headwaters of the Soldier River are slightly south of the dragoons' line of march.

⁴³ The paucity of fresh meat was doubtless due to the absence of suitable grazing on the land which the dragoons were now crossing. The troops had carried enough salted pork to last through forty days when they left Fort Des Moines on August 11.

Saturday 28th

Took up the line of march at an early hour. Course E. S. E. country low and flat, but not miry. in a few miles came to a lake of some size.⁴⁴ there was a large Indian encampment at this point. we struck a large Indian trail running S. E. followed it untill camping time. Camped on a dry *slue* on the prairie saw timber a few miles to our right, Raccoon River probably. weather pleasant, nights cool, horses looking badly. about 80 miles from Fort Des Moines I think.

Course E. S. E. Distance 15 miles

Sunday 29th

Started early and followed the Indian (Sauk) trail its course was S. S. E. after marching a few miles struck a stream a few yards broad and was supposed to be the Raccoon River or beaver. Camped on it 11 miles lower down. timber on it heavy. it is about half as large as Raccoon River is at the Garrison, a fork coming in here from S.W. Hickory and Oak in abundance on the stream. prairies becoming more high and rolling. marching pretty good. Raccoon River 15 yards wide at camp.

Course E. S. E. Distance 19 miles

Monday 30th

Made an early start followed the trail which pursued a S. E. S. direction.⁴⁵ prairies dry and slightly rolling. came to a branch of small size, making into Raccoon from W. about 8 miles from camp four miles beyond came to another from N. W. making into Raccoon about the same point. this stream barely timbered, crossed it and camped on it at an early hour. Raccoon River heavily timbered here. weather warm.

Course S. E. S. Distance 13 miles

Tuesday 1st Oct.

An early start was made direction S.E.S. saw timber in N.W.W. direction, it was supposed to be Beaver River. after marching 14 miles, camped on this stream which proved to be Beaver. some sauk Indians met, they said we were 15 miles from the Garrison.

Course S. E. S. Distance 19 miles.

⁴⁴ Possibly Twin Lakes in Calhoun County.

⁴⁵ "Allen's Journal," 107-108, is in direct conflict with this entry. "September 30. Started late, everything being tired from the too long march of yesterday." The dragoons were showing innumerable signs of fatigue, having walked beside their mounts "most of the way" since leaving the Little Sioux River in an attempt to save the strength of the weakened, underfed animals.

Wednesday 2nd

Made an early start kept down the river, camped late on it. our camp nearly Opposite to our first camp. prairie passed over low and dry.

Course S. E. Distance 18 miles

Thursday 3rd

Made an early start and soon struck our old trail, marched merrily to the Garrison where we arrived early. It is needless to report that all were glad to get back again.

Course S. E. Distance 8 miles

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society honored O. D. Collis of Clinton with a bronze plaque in recognition of his services in offering his *Rob Roy III* for the annual Mississippi River steamboat cruises. Superintendent Petersen presented the plaque, designed by Mrs. Dora Mason, an Iowa sculptor, at a dinner on December 17, 1952.

Harry J. Lytle, member of the Board of Curators of the Society, died on October 23, 1952, at Davenport. Superintendent William J. Petersen wrote of Mr. Lytle: "Harry J. Lytle was a man of rare intellectual and artistic talent, an avid student of Iowa and American history, and a splendid photographer. He was president of the Davenport Public Museum and a member of the American Rose Society. To all these activities he brought tremendous zeal, unusual ability, and good judgment. His presence vastly enriched the Iowa scene. His parting has been a great loss to Iowa, and to the cause of state and local history in Iowa."

A. C. Gingerich of Wellman has been elected to the Board of Curators, to succeed Harry J. Lytle. Mr. Gingerich, president of the Maplecrest Farms, Inc., is also a director of the First National Bank of Iowa City, a member of the Mississippi River Parkway Planning Committee, and a former member of the State Conservation Commission.

Superintendent William J. Petersen was elected secretary of the American Association for State and Local History at the annual meeting in Houston, Texas, October 22-23, 1952.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

August 28	Attended Open House, Sheaffer Pen Company
September 22	Addressed Central Presbyterian Church, Des Moines
October 6	Addressed University Newcomers Club, Iowa City
October 23-25	Attended annual meeting, American Association for State and Local History, Houston, Texas
November 5	Addressed Woman's Club, Marshalltown

November 10	Attended meeting of Television Committee, Des Moines
November 11	Addressed Kiwanis at Grinnell
November 14	Addressed Chapter E, P. E. O., Iowa City
November 20	Addressed Rotary at Keokuk
December 28-30	Attended annual meeting, American Historical Association, Washington, D. C.

The following members were elected to membership in the State Historical Society during the months of September, October, and November:

Ainsworth

Lee Hunt

Algona

Dr. R. C. Dewel

Dean J. Parrott

Ames

Richard K. Frevert

Miss Margaret L. Kagarice

Miss Emelda Kunau

Miss Elisabeth Smith

Miss Margherita Tarr

Bettendorf

John G. Albrecht

Mrs. Frank A. Nelson

Blainstown

Rev. Robert H. Spencer

Bloomfield

Mrs. Gwen Hawk

Brighton

Mrs. Homer L. Brinton

Britt

Mrs. Ralph A. Hodson

Brooklyn

Mrs. Helen Bye

Burlington

Art Schwerin

Cedar Falls

Donald F. Howard

Cedar Rapids

Mrs. Lee S. Coy

Mrs. Helen C. Fause

Beryl Mason

Devere N. Smith

Clinton

Miss Marie C. Raun

Council Bluffs

Robert W. Turner

Davenport

Miss Marion Bates

Mrs. C. F. Bielenberg

Fred Gruenwald

Murray Martin

Miss Frances E. Plath

Phillip Wagner

Des Moines

W. D. Acheson

M. A. Ellerhoff

Miss Hazel Grimes

Miss Mae Hornseth

Miss Clarian M. Leshner

Earle S. Smith

John B. Stevenson

W. W. Stuart
Mrs. Edith D. Webber
Dubuque
Norman T. Bainbridge
Edward E. Cody, Jr.
Robert F. Neuwoehner
Frank L. Wagner
Fort Madison
Walter L. Turney, D. D.
Mrs. Blodwen W. Zeitler
Garnavillo
Alvin J. Kregel
Gladbrook
Harry Foster
William Stewart
Glidden
Glidden Public Library
Grandview
Howard M. Cocklin
Grinnell
R. D. Beach
W. R. Beaty
Dr. A. W. Brock
K. L. Hoefert
F. A. Jones
Earl Mathews
W. F. Shaner
O. Dale Smith
Hawarden
Rev. John C. Thorns
Iowa City
Mrs. Roy G. Busby
G. W. Buxton
Joe K. Hemphill
L. E. Jones
Orson S. Morse
James H. Nesmith

Robert A. Rutland
Fred Sederholm
Roland M. Smith
L. D. Wareham
Jefferson
Rev. E. L. Marousek
Jesup
E. H. Parker
Keokuk
W. J. Fulton
Mrs. James O. Hoerner
G. L. Weissenburger
Le Claire
Mrs. Max H. Christie
Emil Kroeger
Walter W. Paul
Lowden
W. H. Witte
Manchester
Mrs. Orin J. Durey
Clair Groves
Erling B. Hanson
Marion
Miss Mabelle Oxley
Marshalltown
Wallace H. Arney
Mrs. Lewis E. Pond
Mrs. Chas. E. Smith
Mason City
Miss Lydia M. Barrette
Miss Meta E. Schmidt
Mrs. Harry E. Sondergaard
Millersburg
Paul F. Miller
Mount Vernon
Miss Martha F. Lahman

Muscatine

Mrs. Chester A. Richard

Mrs. E. D. Richard

Newton

Rev. Lowell M. McConnell

Ray McMurray

Mrs. E. L. Nelson

Oelwein

L. W. Hauter

Dr. D. J. Ottilie

Onawa

Merle Mock

Osceola

Richard D. Beving

Oskaloosa

Harry F. Carlon

Parkersburg

Mrs. John R. Stout

Preston

Mrs. Robert Kunau

Reinbeck

Rev. Christian Haupt

Rockford

F. L. Merrick

Royal

R. L. Binkard

Sigourney

C. J. Lambert

Sioux City

Richard S. Hoak

Storm Lake

Dr. Floyd C. Bridge

Tipton

Dr. G. K. Dice

Mrs. G. K. Dice

Traer

Miss Wanda Mae Stoakes

Vinton

Mrs. A. R. Bartell

Mrs. John P. Casey

Rev. O. Nieting

Mrs. M. M. Schnoor

Walker

Mrs. Ivan L. Gritman

Wapello

Mrs. Kate H. Baker

Washington

Rev. Wm. J. Grossheim

Waterloo

Harry A. Dieckman

Victor H. Foster

Earl Kimball

Miss Ella Mason

Stanley S. Ransom

Blair C. Wood

Waverly

Marvin Hyde

Wellman

Burrell Foster

Wesley

Wesley Public Schools

West Branch

Donald E. Johnson

West Liberty

Ivan N. Gates

Williams

Miss Bertha Bossenberger

California

Mrs. Clara R. Ferson, Fresno

*Colorado*Allen H. Dunton, Colorado
Springs*District of Columbia*

Mrs. Alice P. Berger

Mrs. Dena E. Cutsinger	<i>Michigan</i>
<i>Georgia</i>	John H. Steck, Owosso
Univ. of Georgia Libraries,	<i>Nebraska</i>
Athens	Mrs. J. W. Colantuono, Omaha
<i>Illinois</i>	<i>Nevada</i>
Mrs. Nathaniel L. Cowen,	Charlton Laird, Reno
Chicago	<i>Pennsylvania</i>
Mrs. Edwin M. Miller, Chicago	Dr. Jennie M. McKee,
Miss Bertha Schlatter, Chicago	Philadelphia
<i>Maryland</i>	<i>Hawaii</i>
Thomas C. Anderson,	Bruce W. Kingsley, Honolulu
Chevy Chase	<i>North Ireland</i>
Austin C. Waller, Chevy Chase	Miss Margaret Picken, Rosetta
	Belfast

The following persons were elected as life members:

<i>Davenport</i>	<i>Dubuque</i>
Fred A. Hinrichsen	F. E. Bissell
	Dr. Henry G. Langworthy

Iowa Historical Activities

At the Indiana History Conference at Indianapolis on December 5-6, 1952, Dr. Leland L. Sage of Iowa State Teachers College read a paper on the Clarkson family of Brookville, Indiana, a family which took a leading part in Iowa journalism and politics as editors of the *Des Moines Register*.

The Osceola County Historical Society held its annual meeting September 29, 1952. Officers elected were Mrs. Stella Fox, president; Mrs. Nora Geronsin, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. H. E. Scott, Mrs. Olive Trusty, and Mrs. Pearl Kraft, members of the advisory board.

The quarterly meeting of the Four County Historical Society was held at the Hart Memorial Library in Belle Plaine on November 7, 1952. Two papers were read, both of which were published in the November 19 issue of the *Belle Plaine Union*: "First School in Benton County and Belle Plaine," by Mrs. Earl Leimberer; and "Early History of Poweshiek County, Iowa," by Clyde Martin.

The Howard County Historical Society, inactive for five years, was re-

organized at a meeting held in the Cresco Public Library on November 11, 1952. Officers elected were Dave Evans, president; Mrs. W. A. Gleason, vice-president; L. L. Lowry, secretary; and Mrs. C. E. Farnsworth, treasurer and curator.

The Union County Historical Society held its annual meeting in Creston on October 5, 1952. Claude R. Cook, curator of the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines, spoke on the history of Union County, which was first organized in 1853. Richard Brown was re-elected president of the Society at the meeting. Other officers elected were True LaMaster of Creston, vice-president; Mrs. Lucile Carey of Afton, secretary-treasurer; and Grace Harsh, historian. Interesting historical relics were displayed, and plans were discussed for placing historical markers on the route to the Mt. Pisgah Mormon cemetery in the eastern part of the county.

The Linn County Historical Society met at Cedar Rapids on November 13, 1952, and re-elected W. Howard Smith, president; Mrs. F. G. Murray, vice-president; Mrs. R. F. Torstenson, secretary; Paul Huston, treasurer; and Stewart Holmes, John Wagner, William Behrens, and Morris Sanford, directors.

Bedford in Taylor County is laying plans for a centennial celebration in 1953. Members of the Bedford Lions Club voted at their meeting October 6, 1952, to sponsor the observance. Mason City will also be 100 years old in 1953, and E. C. Jones is publicity chairman. The centennial celebration is planned for the week of June 7-14, 1953. Eldora will observe its centennial in 1953, while citizens of Waterloo are already working on plans for their 1954 birthday. The Nevada-Story County centennial in 1953 will be under the direction of J. J. Donnellan, chairman of the general planning committee.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

Lincoln the President: Midstream. By J. G. Randall. (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1952. \$7.50.) In the seemingly endless stream of Lincoln and Civil War books coming from the presses, those by Professor James G. Randall of the University of Illinois easily stand in first place. This volume is the third in Randall's brilliant biography of Abraham Lincoln; the first two volumes, covering the years from Springfield to Gettysburg, were published in 1945. *Midstream* is the eventful year 1863, "the year of the emancipation proclamation, of the first nationwide draft, of draft riots, of Missouri troubles, of Copperhead turbulence, of Vallandigham agitation, of important international dealings, and of hard military campaigns in which the nation's fate was wavering." Dr. Randall closes this volume with a chapter on Lincoln entitled "This Strange, Quaint, Great Man."

Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865. By Harry J. Sievers, S. J. (Chicago, Henry Regnery Co., 1952. \$5.00.) Benjamin Harrison, the man who defeated Grover Cleveland for the presidency in 1888, and who in turn was defeated by Cleveland in 1892, has long deserved a full-length biography. Father Sievers of West Baden College in Indiana has, with this volume, re-introduced historians to an almost forgotten president. As is evident by the dates, this biography deals only with Harrison's early life and his experiences in the Civil War, which he entered as a volunteer rifleman and from which he emerged a general. The second volume will present the story of Harrison as politician and president. The work, based on research in hitherto restricted Harrison manuscripts in the Library of Congress, will prove a valuable addition to the literature of the American nineteenth century.

Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War. Vol. III. *Grant's First Year in the West.* By Kenneth P. Williams. (New York, Macmillan, 1952. \$7.50.) The first two volumes of Dr. Williams' military history of the Civil War, published in 1949, covered the years 1861 to 1864 in the East. With the third volume, the author turns to the war in the West,

and to Ulysses S. Grant and his brilliant victories at Donelson, Shiloh, and Vicksburg. Based on voluminous research, Dr. Williams' books are outstanding among the new volumes of military history, and are considered by some scholars as the definitive works on the Civil War. This volume will be of particular interest to Middle Western readers, since Grant's army was made up largely of troops from Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana, Nebraska, Missouri, Kentucky, and Michigan.

The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: (Vol. II) The Cabinet and the Presidency, 1920-1933. (Vol. III) The Great Depression, 1929-1941. (New York, Macmillan, 1952. \$5.00 per volume.) These two volumes continue the memoirs of ex-president Hoover which were begun in his first volume, published in 1951, and will be of particular interest in the study of recent American history on the national scale. Mr. Hoover presents strongly the anti-New Deal point of view, and for this reason his third volume will be the most controversial of the three. It will thus be of great value to the historian of the future whose task of studying and evaluating the America of the depression years will be a tremendous one.

Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship. By Frank Freidel. (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., \$6.00.) This is the first volume of a projected six-volume biography of President Roosevelt. Dr. Freidel, professor of history at the University of Illinois, began his work in 1945 and has been able to use the vast resources of the Hyde Park Library. This first volume, which carries the story through the first World War, has received wide acclaim as a scholarly and objective interpretation of one of America's most controversial public figures. Historians and the public in general are fortunate that, so soon after the death of a leading figure, a work should appear unmarred by either adulation or hatred, both of which Roosevelt inspired in large quantities. Dr. Freidel, by approaching his subject from the point of view of the historian, has done a great service to both the present and future understanding of a personality and an era.

Forests for the Future: The Story of Sustained Yield as Told in the Diaries and Papers of David T. Mason, 1907-1950. Edited by Rodney C. Loehr. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society. 1952. \$3.50.) This volume is Publication No. V in the Forest Products History Foundation Series. David Townsend Mason, writes the editor, Dr. Loehr, "has done more than

any other individual to further sustained yield forestry in this country." His diary, with introductory and explanatory material by Dr. Loehr, will prove valuable in the study of the conservation movement in the United States.

California Emigrant Letters. Edited by Walker D. Wyman. (New York, Bookman Associates, 1952. \$3.00.) An often neglected source of first-hand accounts of early travel and pioneer life is the newspaper "back home." Nineteenth century Americans were prolific letter-writers, and many of these letters, of more than personal interest, found their way into print. In this book, Dr. Wyman has gathered accounts of the forty-niners from a number of Missouri newspapers and compiled them into a running story of the great Gold Rush to California. Originally appearing in the *California Historical Society Quarterly* in 1945, the letters have now been published in an attractive book, with delightful illustrations drawn by Helen Bryant Wyman.

Farm and College: The College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin. A History. By W. H. Glover. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1952. \$5.00.) Dr. Glover has produced an admirable book, which combines a history of Wisconsin agriculture with the growth and development of the Agricultural College of the University. Some fifty pages of footnotes bear witness to the thorough research which has gone into this work. The familiar Midwestern story of growth from subsistence to commercial farming is told, while the significant and often determining role of the Agricultural College is underscored. As such, the book is a contribution both to agricultural and to educational history.

Articles

Agricultural History for January, 1952, contains two articles of value to those interested in the American agricultural scene: "The History of the Common Maize Varieties of the United States Corn Belt," by Edgar Anderson and William L. Brown; and "Studies in the History of American Settled Areas and Frontier Lines: 1625-1790," by Fulmer Mood. The latter article is the first of three on this very significant subject. Articles on American agriculture in the July, 1952, *Agricultural History* are: "The Midwestern Country Town — Myth and Reality," by Lewis E. Atherton; "Virginia Agricultural Reform, 1815-1860," by Charles W. Turner; "The Historical

Significance of the Tariff on Rice," by Edward Hake Phillips; and "Early Agriculture in Western Canada in Relation to Climatic Stability," by Frank Gilbert Roe. The April, 1952, issue contained the following articles: "Self-Sufficiency on the Farm," by Rodney C. Loehr; and "Agricultural Diversification in the Alabama Black Belt," by Glenn N. Sisk.

The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. 62, Part I (1952), contains an article on "Lincoln and Prohibition, 'Blazes on a Zig-zag Trail,'" by Harry Miller Lydenberg. Another article of general interest in the volume is "The History of Square-Dancing," by S. Foster Damon.

The Fall, 1952, *American Heritage* is devoted to Texas, the "Lone Star State." In addition to articles on all phases of Texas life, there are three articles on politics, inspired by the political activity of 1952: "Clio's Discards: Campaigning is a Lost Art," by R. E. Banta; "Voting in Early America," by Charles S. Sydnor and Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.; and "Tippecanoe Belles of 1840," by Robert Gray Gunderson. The latter article carries the intriguing subtitle: "Overcome by the blandishments of the fair sex who entered the contest with remarkable vigor, the Democrats conducted a sorry campaign."

The July, 1952, *American Historical Review* contains the following articles: "James Madison and His Times," by Irving Brant; "The English Mormons in America," by M. Hamlin Cannon; and "American Urban History Today," by Blake McKelvey.

Of interest to political historians will be the article by J. Chal Vinson, "Hoke Smith and the 'Battle of the Standards' in Georgia, 1895-1896," in the September, 1952, issue of *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*. Politics in the 1840's is discussed in two articles in the June, 1952, *Indiana Magazine of History*: "Thurlow Weed's Network: Whig Party Organization in 1840," by Robert G. Gunderson; and "Sectional Aspects of Expansion, 1844-1848," by Roger H. Van Bolt.

Articles in the Summer, 1952, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: "The Distillers' and Cattle Feeders' Trust, 1887-1895," by Ernest E. East; "Charles A. Dana and *The Chicago Republican*," by Elmer Gertz; and "The Unwanted Mr. Lincoln," by William Frank Zornow.

Thomas D. Clark points out an often neglected source of historical material in "The Country Newspaper as a Source of Social History," in the

Indiana Magazine of History (September, 1952). "Nineteenth Century Medicine," by Hugh M. Ayer, is another article in this issue, while a discussion of Indiana politics is "Hoosiers and the Western Program, 1844-1848," by Roger H. Van Bolt.

The lister cultivator was an important contribution to the farmers of the Great Plains. The August, 1952, *Kansas Historical Quarterly* has an article by Patricia M. Bourne and A. Bower Sageser on this subject: "Background Notes on the Bourne Lister Cultivator." Also in the same issue is Part Two of "Vincent B. Osborne's Civil War Experiences, September, 1862-July, 1865," edited by Joyce Farlow and Louise Barry. Two articles of general interest in the November, 1952, *Kansas Historical Quarterly* are: "The Administration of Federal Land Laws in Western Kansas, 1880-1890: A Factor in Adjustment to a New Environment," by George L. Anderson; and "The Rev. Louis Dumortier, S. J., Itinerant Missionary to Central Kansas, 1859-1867," by Sister M. Evangeline Thomas.

The June, 1952, *Michigan History* is devoted to an article by Charles Hirschfeld, "The Great Railroad Conspiracy." This "conspiracy," a battle between farmers and the Michigan Central Railroad over damages, is of interest and significance as paving the way to railroad regulation in the state, and as preparing the ground for the anti-monopoly agitation of the Granger years. In presenting this study of the struggle of agrarians and the railroad power of the 1840's, Dr. Hirschfeld has made a brilliant contribution to both agricultural and railroad history.

Articles of general interest in the July, 1952, *Mid-America* are: Propaganda Uses of the Underground Railroad," by Larry Gara; "The Missouri Radicals and the Re-Election of Lincoln," by David D. March; and "Early Variety Theatres in the Trans-Mississippi West," by Harold E. Briggs.

The following articles appeared in the Autumn, 1952, *Minnesota History*: "The Birth of a Symphony Orchestra [The Minneapolis Symphony]," by John K. Sherman; "Schoolgirl of the Indian Frontier," by Eva L. Alvey Richards; and "Minnesota 100 Years Ago," described and pictured by Adolf Hoeffler and edited by John F. McDermott.

Articles in the September, 1952, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* include: "The Immigrant Theme on the American Stage," by Carl Wittke;

"The Gaspee Affair: A Study of its Constitutional Significance," by William R. Leslie; "Edward Channing's 'Great Work' Twenty Years After," by John A. DeNovo; "Historian's Choice: Results of a Poll on Recently Published American History and Biography," by John Walton Caughey; and "The Parchment Peace: The Senate Defense of the Four-Power Treaty of the Washington Conference," by J. Chal Vinson. The December, 1952, issue contains: "The Secession Crisis and the Frontier: Washington Territory, 1860-1861," by Robert W. Johannsen; "Watchers for the Second Coming: The Millenarian Tradition in America," by Ira V. Brown; "Frederick Law Olmsted in the 'Literary Republic,'" by Laura Wood Roper; "Progressivism and Imperialism: The Progressive Movement and American Foreign Policy, 1898-1916," by William E. Leuchtenburg; "Ignatius Donnelly, James J. Hill, and Cleveland Administration Patronage," by Horace S. Merrill; and "Expedition to the Yellowstone River in 1873: Letters of a Young Cavalry Officer," by George Frederick Howe.

The July, 1952, *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* contains the following articles: "Dr. Beaumont Comes to St. Louis," by Mrs. Max W. Myer, an account of a pioneer surgeon at Jefferson Barracks in 1834; a Civil War diary of John T. Clarke, "With Sherman in Georgia"; and "Changing Times on a Boon's Lick Farm," by Lilburn A. Kingsbury.

The events of the Civil War in Missouri are less well known than are the great events of that conflict on the eastern seaboard. In the July, 1952, *Missouri Historical Review*, Frederic A. Culmer has edited "Brigadier Surgeon John W. Trader's Recollections of the Civil War in Missouri," an article which should help to tell the story of the War in the Middle West. Also in the same issue is an article on a little-known phase of the career of one of Missouri's great men: "Thomas Hart Benton: Editor," by William N. Chambers.

Bulletin No. 7 of the National Archives, "Historical Editing," by Clarence E. Carter, will prove of value to young scholars faced with the problem of preparing original documents for publication. All phases of editing are covered — the selection, transcription, annotation, proof-reading, and indexing — and the highest standards of scholarship are stressed. Copies of the booklet may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for twenty cents.

An article on Nebraska's famous "Boy Orator of the Platte" by Paolo E. Coletta appeared in the June, 1952, *Nebraska History*: "William Jennings Bryan's First Nebraska Years." The old and the new in historical research are represented by two articles in *Nebraska History* (September, 1952): "The Economic Development of Custer County Through World War I and the New Era, 1914-1929," by Maurice C. Latta; and "Developments Along the Overland Trail from the Missouri River to Fort Laramie, Before 1854," by Robert W. Richmond.

Robert Gray Gunderson contributed a political article to the October, 1952, *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*: "Horace Greeley and the Log-Cabin Campaign." Other articles of interest are: "'Cincinnati is a Delightful Place,' Letters of a Law Clerk," edited by James Taylor Dunn; and "Pioneer Photography," by Harry R. Stevens.

Carl Becker was one of the great historians in modern America. After his first book was published, William E. Dodd wrote of him: "There is no one now writing history in this country who has written so well." In the July, 1952, *William and Mary Quarterly*, Charlotte Watkins Smith undertakes to study the development of "the high literary art of Carl Becker" in an article entitled "Carl Becker: The Historian as a Literary Craftsman."

Radical revolts in American history have been the subject of many articles and books; one seldom reads of conservative "revolts." Conservatism within the Democratic party in the 1830's is the subject of an article by Howard Braverman — "The Economic and Political Background of the Conservative Revolt in Virginia" — in the April, 1952, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. In the same issue Joseph I. Shulim writes of the opinions of a great American on a great Frenchman — "Thomas Jefferson Views Napoleon."

Iowa

The July, 1952, *Annals of Iowa* contains the following articles: "Polk County Beginnings," by Claude R. Cook, Curator of the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines; "An Eloquent Iowan Delivered Patriotic Fourth of July Address," by Judge John L. Morse, which is the publication of the manuscript of a speech by Judge Morse made in 1866 at Belmond, Iowa; and "Andrew Mulholland, alias George Wilson," by Iowa

Supreme Court Justice H. J. Mantz, a discussion of an interesting court case of the early twentieth century.

Iowa Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper spoke at the ceremonies opening the Iowa centennial exposition at the Library of Congress in 1946. His address, "Ioway and Iowa in History," is published in the *Annals of Iowa* (October, 1952). Other articles in the same issue are: "Courts and Lawyers of Mills County," by H. M. Logan; "Des Moines Seventy Years Ago," by Thomas F. Drummond; "Pioneer Iowa Soil Subjugation," by N. Tjernagel; "The Circus in Iowa," by Jacob A. Wagner; and "McGregor and the Ringlings," by James D. Allen.

A history of the Trappist monastery at New Meleray will be published soon. Entitled "Arms and the Monk, The Iowa Trappist Story," the book has been written by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. M. Hoffman of Dyersville. The New Meleray monastery is 104 years old, the second oldest Trappist house in North and South America, the oldest being Gethsemani monastery in Kentucky, which is one year older.

Eugene Ellsworth of Iowa Falls was famous in his day as a railroad builder and land speculator. A graduate student at the State University of Iowa, Curtis L. Johnson, has written a thesis in the English department on the life of Mr. Ellsworth.

Some time before her death in 1942, Mrs. Ollie Glenn Deselm wrote her memories of the "Battle of Fort Gobel" in Clarke County in 1863. In that year Copperheads (Southern sympathizers) came down from Madison County to the little village of Jamison, eight miles north of Osceola, to the home of the Gobels. Their sentiments angered some Union soldiers, home on furlough, and an attack was made on "Fort" Gobel and the Copperheads driven back across the county line. The story appeared in the June 26, 1952, *Osceola Sentinel*.

Several excerpts from old diaries have recently appeared in Iowa newspapers. The June 2, 1952, Denison *Bulletin* contains a number of entries from the 1850's of the diary of Morris McHenry, one of the early settlers of Crawford County. The article was contributed by Henry Bell. Beginning in the July 10 issue of the *Villisca Review*, the editor began reprinting the diary of George A. Madden, pioneer settler of the Hawleyville vicinity,

which was originally published in the *Review* some eighteen years ago. The Madden diary dates from 1854.

Lloyd Maffitt contributed a story on Henry Clay Dean, Iowa Copperhead, to the July 9, 1952, issue of the Burlington *Hawkeye-Gazette*. Dean, famous as an orator, was also famous for his untidy appearance which earned him the nickname of "Dirty Shirt." "When Dean came," wrote one editor, "people thought he was an escaped lunatic. When he went, they thought he was an escaped archangel." This story also was printed in the August 1, 1952, Cedar Rapids *Gazette*.

An account of Mills County in 1850, written by M. N. Anthony, appeared in the July 24, 1952, Glenwood *Opinion*. The article was reprinted from the September 7, 1921, issue of the *Opinion*.

Students at the Grand Junction High School have recently completed a very worth-while project in local history. They made a thorough study of the history of Grand Junction and wrote up their findings under several headings. This "History of Grand Junction" was published in the Grand Junction *Free Press*, in the July 31 and succeeding issues.

Benson H. Guinn read a paper before the Four County Historical Society meeting at Belle Plaine on August 1, 1952. Mr. Guinn's paper dealt with the founding of Guinnville by his ancestors, and his remarks were published in the August 6, 1952, issue of the Belle Plaine *Union*. Guinnville is now a part of the city of Belle Plaine.

W. F. Hovey, who came to Palo Alto County with his parents eighty-two years ago, tells of his early experiences in the August 6, 1952, Ruthven *Free Press*. He was nine years old in 1870 when his family left Wisconsin to "homestead" in the wild country of northwestern Iowa.

Keokuk's telephone system — the first in Iowa — is 74 years old, according to a story by Pearl Gordon Vestal in the September 3, 1952, Keokuk *Gate City*.

Dr. N. E. Getman of Rock Rapids has prepared a study of the history of Lyon County which is appearing in the Rock Rapids *Reporter*. The first installment was published in the September 4, 1952, issue.

An old letter on early days in Atlantic, written by Mary Makepeace

Nichols, was published in the September 4, 1952, *Atlantic News-Telegraph*. Mrs. Nichols came to Atlantic in 1870 with her family.

Dr. F. M. Roberts' memories of Knoxville, and particularly of some outstanding political events there, were published in the September 4, 1952, *Knoxville Express*. Visits to Knoxville by William Jennings Bryan in 1896, Joseph Cannon and Albert B. Cummins in 1909, and William Howard Taft in 1911 (not 1912 as the story states) are recounted.

The early days of Eddyville are the basis of articles by O. H. Seifert in the *Eddyville Tribune*. In the issue of November 6, 1952, the 1882 wreck of a circus train — that of the Adam Forepaugh shows — is featured.

Bellevue has a history of eighty years of fire protection. A history of their fire department, which dates from 1872 with the purchase of a used fire engine for \$550, appeared in the September 11, 1952, *Bellevue Herald*.

A brief chronological history of Atlantic's schools appeared in the November 19, 1952, *Atlantic News-Telegraph*. Teaching began in Atlantic in 1869, with the opening of a private school by Miss Belle Tiffany. The public school system was started in 1870, in a room over a grocery store.

The first company to manufacture gasoline tractors successfully was the Hart-Parr Company of Charles City, Iowa. In 1901 C. W. Hart and C. H. Parr developed their first successful "gasoline traction engine," a machine which was later called a "tractor" by their sales manager, W. H. Williams. One of these early Hart-Parr tractors is now in the famous Farmers Museum at Cooperstown, New York. A brief account of this early tractor appeared in the *Charles City Press* for November 22, 1952.

The history to be found in old newspapers is discussed in two articles in the *McGregor North Iowa Times* in Mrs. Lena D. Myers' column on "McGregor Historical Notes," in the issues of November 13 and 20, 1952.

An illustrated history of Cedar Valley Seminary, a Baptist school at Osage from 1863 to 1922, appeared in the October 30, 1952, *Osage Press*. The four buildings and campus of the Seminary were sold to the Osage public school system in 1922 and are still in use.

The S. Hamill Company of Keokuk, wholesale grocers, celebrated 100 years of business life in 1952. Founded in 1852, when steamboats brought

supplies to Keokuk, the S. Hamill Company sent its goods to the interior towns of Iowa in wagons drawn by oxen or horses. Today, great trucks have replaced the ponderous oxen of 100 years ago. Two pictures appeared in the October 8, 1952, Keokuk *Gate City*, which illustrate changing methods of transportation. One shows the Hamill establishment with horse-drawn drays and a few Model T trucks at the loading platform; the other picture shows a line of modern heavy trucks loading in the same spot.

At the 50th anniversary of the founding of Klemme in Hancock County in 1939, Arthur Wellemeyer was commissioned to gather material and write a history of the town. This history is now being published in the Klemme *Times*, the first chapter appearing in the issue of October 8, 1952.

October 25, 1848, was a memorable day in railroad history, since on that day the famed "Pioneer" locomotive ran west from Chicago over five miles of track—the origin of the present-day Chicago & North Western Railroad system. Boone, an important stop on the North Western in Iowa, commemorated the 104th anniversary of this event in the October 25, 1952, issue of the Boone *News-Republican* with a full-page illustrated story of the North Western.

A magazine for Iowa is *The Iowan*, published by Willard D. Archie and edited by David E. Archie of Shenandoah, Iowa. It will be a bi-monthly publication, and the subscription price is \$2.00 per year. The first issue appeared on October 1, 1952.

Of interest to Iowans is an article in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly* (October, 1952) on "Amelia Bloomer and Bloomerism," by Paul Fatout. The article is illustrated by a woodcut portrait of Mrs. Bloomer, dressed in her famous costume.

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Fort Atkinson, Iowa Territory, from a watercolor sketch made in 1842 by Lieutenant Alexander W. Reynolds, U. S. A. The original is in The National Archives.

THE REPEAL OF THE IOWA GRANGER LAW, 1878

By *Mildred Throne*

On March 23, 1874, Iowa's governor, Cyrus Clay Carpenter, noted in his diary: ". . . read the Rail Road Bill . . . and one or two other acts not signed and put my fist to them. So at last the State has a Rail Road Law fixing maximum rates. I have doubted as to whether the people would reap all the benefit from this that they expect but I hope for the best."¹ Four days later the *Des Moines Register* echoed the governor's doubts: "What it is, how good it shall prove to be, remains to be tried." The members of the General Assembly in framing the law had "honestly tried to do what was best as their knowledge gave them to see the best," continued the *Register*; if the law fails, "it will prove an honest failure."²

Thus, without too much hope, Iowa's governor and Iowa's leading newspaper greeted the passage of the so-called "Granger Law" — a law establishing a schedule of maximum freight and passenger rates for the railroads operating within the state. The law was not just a result of the Granger and Anti-Monopoly agitation, brought to a peak by the panic of 1873; rather it was the culmination of long years of controversy regarding the power of a state to regulate its railroads, a high-point in the struggle between the power of capital and the power of the state, an answer to the age-old contest in America between the rights of property and the rights of the people. Temporarily, in 1874 in Iowa, the people had won a measure of victory.³

The General Assembly which passed the bill had been elected in the heated Anti-Monopoly campaign of 1873, a campaign in which the question

¹ 1874 Diary of Cyrus Clay Carpenter, *Carpenter Papers* (State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa).

² *Des Moines Iowa State Register* (weekly), Mar. 27, 1874. (Hereafter this paper is listed as *Des Moines Register*.)

³ For the law, see *Laws of Iowa, 1874*, Chap. 68, pp. 61-89. The problem of railroad regulation in Iowa is covered in Earl S. Beard, "The Background of State Railroad Regulation in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:1-36 (January, 1953).

of the control of monopolies had been a major issue.⁴ That the Granger movement which reached its Iowa peak in 1874 was one of the major factors in the movement for lowered railroad freight rates is unquestioned, but that the law as finally passed was sponsored or even approved by leading Iowa Grangers is a misinterpretation of the facts. Forces opposed to railroad regulation promptly dubbed the act the "Granger Law," a name which clung to the whole Middle Western railroad control legislation of the 1870's. In the case of Iowa, the appellation is a misnomer, for although the Grangers wanted some type of state control over railroads, the law approved by the General Assembly was not the law they wanted.

It is true that in January of 1873 the State Grange had adopted a resolution addressed to the members of the General Assembly requesting "a law prescribing maximum rates for passengers and freight on the railroads of Iowa."⁵ By 1874, however, wiser heads in the State Grange had come to realize that the solution was not that simple. When the railroad committees of the General Assembly asked the State Grange for suggestions, a committee headed by John Scott was appointed to advise with the legislature. Appearing before the Senate and House railroad committees on February 17, 1874, the Grangers gave their views which "were not as violent or revolutionary as the enemies of the order would like to represent them to be."⁶

In substance, the type of bill suggested by the State Grange would have provided for a board of commissioners, to be appointed by the governor, which would have supervision of the railroads of the state. The Grange opposed a "cast iron tariff bill" as an injustice both to the people and to the railroads, until sufficient study of the problem had been made by a duly appointed board of commissioners which would then either pave the way for "legislation in detail, or prove it to be impracticable." But the members of the General Assembly, lamented Chairman Scott, "entertained the most crude notions as to the whole matter, and grappled the subject in that spirit of innocence with which an infant would play with a serpent."⁷ The result was the "Granger Law" — of which leading Iowa Grangers disapproved.

⁴ See Mildred Throne, "The Grange in Iowa, 1868-1875," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 47:289-324 (October, 1949), particularly 314-18 for the Anti-Monopoly movement.

⁵ *Proceedings . . . Iowa State Grange . . . 1872*, 24.

⁶ *Estherville Northern Vindicator*, Feb. 28, 1874.

⁷ *Des Moines Register* (weekly), Feb. 20, 1874; *Iowa City Daily Press*, Feb. 19, 20, 1874; *Keokuk Gate City*, Feb. 25, 1874; *Proceedings . . . Iowa State Grange . . . 1874*, 40-42.

The Fifteenth General Assembly which had passed this controversial legislation would be roundly criticized in the days to come as either stupid or inexperienced, or both. As for lack of experience, there were probably no more new men in the 1874 legislature than in others in the past and future. In the 1874 Assembly, 17 of the 100 House members and 32 of the 50 Senators had served in 1872. In the 1876 legislature, as a comparison, 14 members of the House and 26 of the Senators had been in the 1874 Assembly. This was not unusual and was the result of a rather stern tradition at that period of Iowa history that a public servant should hold office for only two terms and then retire to obscurity or go on to bigger and better things. As to stupidity, there was the usual amount of political naivete in the General Assembly of 1874, and also the usual amount of political sagacity. In addition to a number of the active political leaders of the state, there were three future governors — John H. Gear, Joshua G. Newbold, and William Larrabee — and a future United States Senator, Lafayette Young, in this legislature.

Of the 158 members in both Houses in 1874, some 70 were classed as Grangers, while politically they were equally divided between Republicans and Anti-Monopoly-Democrats. The bill, in its final form, passed with unusual unanimity — in the Senate by a vote of 39 to 9; in the House, 93 to 4.⁸ In the last analysis, the General Assembly of 1874, elected by a people demanding some action against the high freight rates which bore heavily upon them in a period of falling prices, was determined to put through stringent legislation. The legislators were in no mood for half-way measures; thus the milder law suggested by the State Grange had no chance of passage.

With the bill on the books, these legislators waited anxiously for the reaction — seemingly surprised at their own temerity in defying the corporations. They had come to believe, however, that they had the power to pass such legislation in spite of strenuous denials by the railroads. Governor Carpenter had stated firmly in his first inaugural address in 1872 that he did not consider the “pretense that railways are beyond the control of law, in respect to fare and freights, as worthy of more than a moment’s consideration.”⁹ Now the governor and the executive council were faced with the

⁸ *Senate Journal*, 1874, 295; *House Journal*, 1874, 403-404.

⁹ Benj. F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* (7 vols., Iowa City, 1903), 4:20.

enforcing of a law which they well knew the railroads would fight through the courts, and they were provided with the puny sum of \$10,000 to be pitted against the millions at the command of the roads.¹⁰

The reaction of the railroads was not long in coming. Only a few weeks after the law had passed, reports began to appear in Iowa newspapers of a meeting in New York of the officials of the Chicago & North Western and the Milwaukee & St. Paul roads, two of the five railroads in Iowa whose actions would determine the future of the enforcement of the law.¹¹ (The other roads were the Burlington, the Rock Island, and the Illinois Central.) Among the attorneys retained by the roads were William M. Evarts, a leader of the New York bar, and Judge B. R. Curtis, a former United States Supreme Court Justice.¹² Evarts and Curtis flatly declared the law unconstitutional because it impaired the obligations of contract. Railroad regulation, they stated, was beyond the power of a state.¹³ Thus the North Western and the Milwaukee declared they would ignore the Iowa law.

In May, James S. Clarkson, editor of the *Des Moines Register*, was in Chicago for a meeting of newspapermen, and he took occasion to make the rounds of the railroad offices, sounding out the officials on their reactions. His report was far from encouraging. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy had not yet decided on a course of action, but the law would certainly cost them money, which they intended to make up by raising through-freight rates. The Rock Island, whose land grant contained certain provisions for state regulation, was in a more difficult position. The Illinois Central promised some sort of action by June. They echoed the Burlington's statement: they probably would observe the law in Iowa but would make up their losses by increasing through rates. The North Western defiantly announced that they would contest the law in Iowa, just as they were then doing in Wisconsin where the "Potter Law" had already gone into effect.

¹⁰ *Laws of Iowa, 1874*, Chap. 68, p. 88.

¹¹ *Dubuque Times* and *Eldora Ledger*, quoted in *Des Moines Register* (weekly), Apr. 17, 1874.

¹² William M. Evarts, in addition to his distinguished legal career, had served as Attorney General in the cabinet of President Andrew Johnson; in 1877 he became Secretary of State under President Hayes. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 6:215-18. B. R. Curtis, a Massachusetts lawyer, had been appointed to the Supreme Court in 1851, at the age of forty-one. His was one of the two dissenting opinions in the Dred Scott case in 1857, a dissent which led to a controversy with Chief Justice Taney and Curtis' resignation from the Court. *Ibid.*, 4:609-611.

¹³ *Des Moines Register* (weekly), May 8, 1874.

Clarkson closed his two-column summary of the situation with a warning to Iowans:

The people of Iowa, in grappling with the iron-armed monster of monopoly, may as well expect business. The railroads have not gathered within their employ vainly the best brains and the shrewdest managers and the most eminent legal talent that the country affords. Against this day they, in their might have been long preparing. They will have all their rights and all that they can get besides. Our Iowa people are now nearing the real railroad crossing, and Gov. Carpenter, even before he hears the bell ring, may as well be looking out for the cars.¹⁴

And Governor Carpenter was doing just that. A mild-mannered little man, but with a will of iron when he believed himself to be in the right, he had no intention of bowing to the power of the mighty railroads. In answer to a Grange resolution sent to him by Coker F. Clarkson, *Register* farm editor, active Granger, and father of Editor J. S. Clarkson, the governor replied that he "hoped the railroad companies of Iowa will consult their own interests and the interests of the people by voluntarily conforming to the laws passed by the last Legislature," but if they did not he would "not hesitate in the duty which will then be upon me, to see to it that all the authority possessed by the executive is invoked to secure its enforcement."¹⁵ This firm attitude confirmed the opinion of "Father" Clarkson, which he had already published in his column, that "Iowa is fortunately situated in her chief executive officer. His education and natural composition is not such as will quail before power or succumb to money." Furthermore, wrote Clarkson, "no bluster or bluff game should deter any one from enforcing the law. . . . It were better no railroad train moved in the State for two years, than to have it said that we dare not, or cannot enforce our laws in defiance of overgrown monopolies."¹⁶ Editor James Clarkson — popularly known by his famous nickname, "Ret" — also added his backing to Carpenter's position. "The Governor deals with the question without palaver and frankly," he wrote; the statute passed for the protection of the people of Iowa would be strongly and vigilantly enforced by their governor and their attorney general.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1874.

¹⁵ Letter published in *ibid.*, June 12, 1874.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Apr. 24, 1874.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1874.

Although he was sustained by the powerful Clarksons, yet Carpenter did not have unanimous support in the state. Almost before the bill had passed, the editor of the Estherville *Northern Vindicator* warned that he "saw naught of encouragement to either the farming or mercantile interests of north-western Iowa"¹⁸ in the law. The fact that northwestern Iowa was practically barren of railroads of course influenced the attitude of residents there, where they dreamed of the advantages of railways and had yet had no experience with what eastern Iowa, where railroads were a commonplace, called "extortionate rates." In northeastern Iowa, however, another and more personal type of opposition appeared. A. M. May, editor of the Waukon *Standard*, had once been a strong Granger but had turned against the Order and now took every chance to attack it. Since the railroad regulation law had already been christened the "Granger Law," May delighted in publishing articles derogatory to it. On June 18, under the heading, "Granger Legislation," May quoted the "Wall Street view of the railroad question," from the *New York Bulletin*. "Grangerism," said "Wall Street," would make the investments in railroads unproductive by "one of the most stupendous acts of injustice ever undertaken in the name of law." If the people of the Midwest, after experiencing all the benefits and advantages of railroad transportation, should turn against their benefactors, "mass themselves in 'Granges,'" and try to deprive the roads of "self-management" by adjusting rates to suit the customers, "what security is there for corporate investments?" The article continued, sadly:

It is a matter of infinite regret that a large and influential class of American citizens should have been found willing to commit themselves to an act of such glaring injustice and bad faith. Their agitation reveals a condition of political morals which is anything but honorable to the nation, and anything but conducive to confidence in our investments. If there is a fundamental dishonesty in the hearts of large masses of our people, the basis of our hopes of commercial greatness is gone, and the future of the Republic is imperiled. . . . They have adopted laws which cannot be sanctioned by the Supreme Court of the nation, and which will, therefore, fail to accomplish the unjust purpose contemplated; and all they gain is a permanent degradation of character.¹⁹

Here the issue was really joined. The believers in the sanctity of property

¹⁸ Estherville *Northern Vindicator*, Mar. 28, 1874.

¹⁹ *New York Bulletin*, quoted in Waukon *Standard*, June 18, 1874. For A. M. May, see Throne, "Grange in Iowa," 302.

were arrayed against those who sought justice for the people as a whole. The *Register*, in retaliation, quoted from the New York *Graphic*:

These legal tribunals will decide whether the railway corporations exist for the convenience and use of the people, or whether the people exist for the convenience and profit of the railway corporations. This is indeed the fundamental question at issue. At the present time the railway corporations assume that they are superior to the State and above its control. . . . The sooner this question is settled by some legal tribunal the better for the country. A great many plausible objections are raised against the State owning and running railroads. There are just a few strong objections against the railroads owning and running a State. . . .²⁰

The law was to go into effect in Iowa on July 4, 1874. As that date approached, interest in what the railroads were going to do mounted. On June 26 the *Register* reported from a Chicago paper that interviews with the railroad managers had revealed that the Burlington, the North Western, and the Illinois Central were "disposed to disregard the enactment." The Rock Island was wavering, however, because of the clause in its land grant, while part of the Illinois Central grant also contained a like provision acknowledging the right of the state to regulate rates. Should the Rock Island bow to the law, the other roads would almost surely have to follow suit.²¹ On June 29 the answer came: Hugh Riddle, vice-president and general superintendent of the Rock Island, wrote Governor Carpenter a long and lecturing letter, the gist of which was that the road would "experimentally" obey the new tariff schedule. "While this company denies the justice and constitutional validity of the act," wrote Riddle, "it is disposed to subject it to the test of actual experiment before assailing it in the courts. . . . While engaging in the experiment of operating that portion of the road in Iowa in accordance with the schedules named in the act it is their duty to so adjust the rates applicable to inter-State commerce as to secure from the entire business of the company the revenue to which it is entitled."²² Here was the loophole in the bill, through which the railroads could eventually force repeal. While a state could affix certain rates to traffic carried within its borders, it could do nothing about freight carried across those borders.

²⁰ New York *Graphic*, quoted in Des Moines *Register* (weekly), June 19, 1874.

²¹ Des Moines *Register*, June 26, 1874.

²² Letter of Hugh Riddle to C. C. Carpenter, published in full in *ibid.*, July 3, 1874.

On July 5 Albert Keep, president of the North Western, wired Carpenter that his road would "comply under protest."²³ Following his wire with a letter to the governor, Keep pointed out the injustice of the arbitrary classification of roads according to income.²⁴ Certain branch lines owned by the North Western had been operating at a loss; if included in the North Western "A" classification, the operation of these branches would involve such a great loss as to amount to "virtual confiscation." Keep also reminded the governor that his company considered the law unconstitutional, but that it would operate under the law "for such length of time as will demonstrate the absolute injustice of these rates."²⁵ On July 24, the *Register* reported from a column in a Chicago paper for July 14 that the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy "had no idea of complying with the regulations made under the new law, and that the President, in asserting that he would comply, merely wanted to imply that he would obey the law, but not these regulations." How a road could obey a law which set maximum freight and passenger rates without abiding by those rates, the paper did not explain.²⁶

In the meantime, Iowa and the railroads had been watching carefully the progress of regulation in Wisconsin, where the "Potter Law" had gone into effect on May 1. When, early in July, a suit growing out of the railroads' refusal to comply with the law was decided unanimously in the Circuit Court in favor of the state, the news "fell like a bombshell" on the railroad men of Chicago. They were "in a perfect state of demoralization," reported the Chicago papers, and could find no common ground for action.²⁷ Here was an answer to the railroads' cry of "unconstitutionality." Threats of injunction, of the closing of certain stations, of a general defiance of the law lost their force.

For a few months the whole matter seemed to be held in abeyance. Some of the Iowa roads obeyed the law, some ignored it, and all raised their through rates, thus nullifying any advantage the shippers had hoped to ob-

²³ Albert Keep to Carpenter, July 5, 1874, *Carpenter Papers*.

²⁴ Class "A" roads were those with annual gross earnings of over \$4,000 per mile; Class "B" roads, those with earnings of from \$3,000 to \$4,000 per mile; Class "C" roads, those under \$3,000 per mile. See *Laws of Iowa, 1874*, Chap. 68, p. 61.

²⁵ Letter of Keep to Carpenter quoted in *Keokuk Weekly Gate City*, July 15, 1874.

²⁶ *Des Moines Register*, July 24, 1874.

²⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1874, quoted in *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, July 10, 1874; *Keokuk Weekly Gate City*, July 15, 1874.

tain. Within a month after the law went into effect, "the first cry for repeal" came from Clinton lumbermen. In the past a large amount of lumber had been shipped from Clinton to points within Iowa; as was customary, the railroads had given the shippers special rates. Since such special rates were prohibited by the new law, the railroads promptly eliminated them and charged a higher rate for the lumber from Clinton, with the result that lumber shipments fell off markedly.²⁸ Another report from Clinton claimed that the earnings of the North Western had fallen so drastically within the first month of the operation of the law that the men in the railroad shops there were reduced to only five days' work a week. A Muscatine paper, in commenting on this state of affairs, suggested that it was "only a 'scare' manufactured by the railroad company to cause a let-up in the enforcement of the law."²⁹ From Cedar Rapids came the complaint that the law had proved a "boomerang" — the roads had raised their through freights. Denison estimated that the law could cost the farmers \$10,000 or \$12,000 more per year; Fort Dodge reported that the increased through freights had added 5½ cents per bushel on wheat. "We have saved the waste at the spiggot, but the flow has doubled through the bunghole," was the comment of the Fort Dodge editor.³⁰

In southern Iowa, where the Burlington was calmly disobeying the law both as to freight and passenger fares, the question was raised as to why Governor Carpenter did nothing to force compliance. "He should enforce the law," insisted one editor, ". . . but as the Executive of this State he has quietly witnessed the violation of the law for three months, and made no attempt to see it enforced." The answer to this lack of action by the governor could be found in the law itself, which provided such meager funds for enforcement (\$10,000), that, as Carpenter wrote a Mount Pleasant editor, "if I should do what some seem to regard as my duty, I would fritter away the appropriation made to employ counsel, and accomplish no good purpose."³¹ Furthermore, before the state could act or institute a suit, at least twenty taxpayers of a county where there was a violation had to appeal to the executive. By November, choosing among these complaints

²⁸ Waukon Standard, Aug. 6, 1874.

²⁹ Muscatine Weekly Journal, Aug. 14, 1874.

³⁰ Cedar Rapids Republican, Denison Review, and Fort Dodge Messenger, quoted in Keokuk Weekly Gate City, Aug. 19, 1874.

³¹ Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye, Oct. 8, 1874; C. C. Carpenter to John Teesdale, Nov. 28, 1874, Carpenter Papers.

carefully, several such suits had been instituted against the Burlington, whereupon the railroad acted. It sent O. H. Browning of Illinois and Judge David Rorer of Burlington to Des Moines to consult with the governor. They showed him an application for a writ of injunction to stop the attorney general — M. E. Cutts — from commencing any further suits against the company.³² This was to be the test case, and from this appeal for an injunction would come the Supreme Court's blessing on the Iowa law.

In January of 1875 the case of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad v. The State of Iowa was heard by United States Circuit Judge John F. Dillon at Davenport. When his decision came, in May, it was a repetition of the Wisconsin case of the previous July: the request for an injunction was denied, and the right of a state to regulate commerce within its borders affirmed.³³ Needless to say, the case was appealed.³⁴

This decision, together with the announcement in March that Iowa railroads had shown an increase of \$1,000,000 in earnings in 1874 over 1873, in spite of the much-maligned Granger Law, served for a time to quiet the agitation. The newspapers did not fail to notice, in this connection, that the two roads which had refused to comply with the law—the Burlington and the Illinois Central — showed the smallest increase in business. In fact, the Illinois Central actually showed a small loss.³⁵ Father Clarkson reported as early as April:

The great excitement which was raised when the Legislatures of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota attempted to regulate railroads, is passing away. The roads have passed through the first year of panic on the subject in a better condition than at any former year. . . . But everything is working admirably and if the people and Legislatures stand firm, no man in the nation who has any respect for his reputation, will contend that the Legislatures have no right to regulate.³⁶

When Judge Dillon's decision confirmed this latter opinion, the railroads had no course to follow but to await the pronouncement of the Supreme Court.

³² Des Moines *Register* (weekly), Oct. 16, Nov. 13, 20, 1874; Muscatine *Weekly Journal*, Nov. 20, 1874.

³³ Des Moines *Register* (weekly), Jan. 15, May 21, 1875.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, May 21, 1875.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1875; Iowa City *Republican*, March 3, 1875.

³⁶ Des Moines *Register* (weekly), Apr. 2, 1875.

But this does not mean that the railroads were idle. Two lines of argument began to appear in the press of Iowa with recurring frequency in late 1875 and with increasing vehemence during the 1876 session of the General Assembly. One was to the effect that shipments under the Granger Law were actually costing the farmers and shippers of the state larger sums of money than before its enactment; the other theme was that eastern and European capitalists would no longer invest money in western railroads. The corollary to this was, of course, that no new roads would be built, but this argument was heard only faintly in 1876; in 1878 it would become possibly the strongest weapon in killing the law in Iowa. But as early as November, 1875, northwestern Iowa pointed out that some of the recent railroad failures had been due to the "anti-railway" law which had had "the effect to destroy the confidence of capitalists and put an end to building new roads."³⁷

As the Grangers declined in numbers and influence in 1875 and 1876, attacks against them increased in bitterness. "The howling has been as hideous as it has been untruthful," wrote Father Clarkson. "Every country newspaper owned or ruled by railroad officials and every location which was hankering for a railroad . . . have set up late and rose up early to abuse the Grangers."³⁸ The State Grange was not unaware of the injustice of these attacks, and had complained as early as December of 1874, in disavowing responsibility for the bill as passed: "But the most singular feature of this whole matter is in the fact that responsibility for the bill which was passed by the General Assembly is laid at the door of 'the Grange,' and it is so accepted by the railroads and the general public."³⁹ A typical example of Anti-Grange publicity came from the *Sigourney News*:

By the fruits of the Grange ye shall know them. Five Iowa railroads are to be foreclosed under mortgage the present month. In this county the Rock Island Road is pushing westward because necessity compels them to do so. Dumping off at Sigourney as a terminus was no part of their original programme. The Rock Island extension of the Sigourney branch westward is only the carrying out of a project which the hostility of fools and fanatics has menaced and delayed, by considering it their duty to obey the voice of epizootic demagogues and office hunters, and vote in favor of legislation hostile to any corporation which commands money

³⁷ Estherville *Northern Vindicator*, Nov. 20, 1875.

³⁸ Des Moines *Register* (weekly), Aug. 6, 1875.

³⁹ *Proceedings . . . Iowa State Grange . . . 1874*, 43.

and can give thousands of dollars to the future development and prosperity of Iowa.⁴⁰

In spite of sporadic attacks on the Grange during 1875, the election of that year did not turn on the railroad question. Governor Carpenter, having served his allotted two terms, was not a candidate to succeed himself. Therefore the Republicans were searching feverishly for a winning nominee, not realizing that the Anti-Monopoly movement which had given them such a scare in 1873 was now on the decline. They settled on the popular Civil War governor, Samuel J. Kirkwood, whose nomination and election broke the two-term tradition for the first time. In addition to the gubernatorial question, the General Assembly to be elected in 1875 would choose a new United States Senator, and the struggle for that political plum was already under way.⁴¹ With these two subjects agitating the voters, little attention was given to the railroad problem.

Once the gubernatorial and senatorial questions had been solved — with Kirkwood taking the prize in both contests — the legislature suddenly found itself in a hotbed of agitation for repeal or modification of the railroad tariff law. Governor Carpenter, in his swan song, had treated the subject at length. If, suggested the retiring governor, the provisions of the law have been found unjust in certain instances, either to a railroad or to a locality, "there should be no objection or hesitancy" in revising the law. Reaffirming the right of the state to pass such regulations, Carpenter insisted that the law "in its main features" should be retained. He went on to urge that the legislature consider carefully the advantage of a commissioner system such as had been tried in other states. This, of course, was essentially the plan which the Grange had recommended in 1874. The following day the new governor, Kirkwood, suggested practically the same course of action: the law was experimental, if there were provisions which did not work to the advantage of all they should be changed, but the law should not be repealed. "I also recommend the appointment of a board of railroad commissioners," said Kirkwood.⁴²

Even before the governors had spoken, the *Des Moines Register*, always a good indicator of the opinion of leading political elements in the state, had

⁴⁰ *Sigourney News*, quoted in *Des Moines Register* (weekly), Nov. 12, 1875.

⁴¹ For an excellent discussion of this nomination, and its senatorial implications, see Leland L. Sage, "Weaver in Allison's Way . . ." *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 31:485-507 (January, 1953).

⁴² Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations . . .*, 4:135-9, 295-9.

suggested, in a column on the work before the new legislature, that the "railroad question" was perhaps the most important task facing the lawmakers. Certain geographic areas in the state were clamoring for repeal, others were insisting on the law without modification of any kind. "We are for amending the present law, where it needs it," said the *Register* later in the month, "or for any different legislation which will better secure the interests of all the people."⁴³ From then on until the adjournment of the legislature, scarcely an issue of Iowa's leading newspaper came out without some comment, or quotations from other papers, on the overshadowing question of railroad regulation.

By the middle of February the Dubuque *Times*, an anti-repeal paper, took occasion to point out that the question of the railroad bill had played no part in the election of members of the General Assembly, "everybody supposing it to be settled for fair trial." The Senate railroad committee had disposed of the question to the *Times's* satisfaction by its report of February 12. That committee, headed by F. T. Campbell of Newton, who had been fighting for railroad control since 1869, reported:

We have examined into the workings of said law as far as it has been complied with, and are satisfied our people have been benefited by it, the interests of the State advanced, and can find many reasons why said law should be retained upon our statute books. . . . The railroads of the State claim that the law reduced their rates on freight too largely, but as far as your Committee is aware do not ask amendments — they desire the *unconditional repeal* of the law, as far as freight rates are concerned, opposing any and all legislation, and asking to be "let alone," unrestricted. . . .

A minority report, signed by George D. Perkins, newspaper editor of Sioux City, and S. H. Kinne, a lawyer of Lansing, with rather heavy sarcasm questioned the "immaculate character" of the law, quoted from numerous newspaper articles attacking it, and called upon the Grangers, by quoting John Scott's report favoring a railroad commissioner system, to support them in their stand for a repeal or revision of the law. Since eleven of the railroad committee opposed tampering with the law, while only these two favored it, the majority report stood.⁴⁴

The Senate action on this resolution, however, did not end the activity

⁴³ Des Moines *Register* (daily), Jan. 9, 27, 1876.

⁴⁴ For majority and minority reports, see *Senate Journal*, 1876, 157-65. See also Dubuque *Weekly Times*, Feb. 16, 1876.

by any means. A majority of the newspapers of the state seemed to favor some modification, if not outright repeal, while only a few die-hard editors held out for retention and enforcement of the law as it stood. The "anti-railroad" papers inevitably accused the others of being in the pay of the railroads. Very possibly some struggling editor might have sold his pen to the railroaders, but on the whole newspapermen agreed with the point of view of the corporations without any financial or political urging. The Fort Dodge *Times* expressed it best:

We are for free trade, free enterprise, free labor, free capital, free competition and free commerce, and we hope the Legislature will say to the world, bring on your money, invest it in the rich fields of Iowa in Railroads, in farms, in mining, in manufactories, and fill our country with settlers, give us work and transportation for our productions, and we will give every dollar invested the same freedom, no matter in what kind of industry invested, whether commercial, agricultural, mining, manufacturing or otherwise.⁴⁵

Not only the newspapers but a majority of Iowa businessmen could subscribe wholeheartedly to the opinion of James F. Wilson, spoken in behalf of the Burlington Railroad before a joint session of the railroad committees of the House and Senate:

The speaker laid down as a maxim that whenever the State places control or interferes with private business of any kind, it interferes with the natural laws of trade and necessarily produces mischief. The speaker showed that railroads cannot be regarded as anything else than private in their capacity as conductors of business either by the theories of eminent domain, or because of their corporate organization or as common carriers.⁴⁶

That railroad lobbyists and railroad influence were being used actively throughout the state to stir up opposition to the Granger Law cannot be doubted. On February 1 the "Capital Letter" in the Dubuque *Times* reported that "The third House has now its membership looking after the land grant, and also the general tariff law. The railroad companies are working very quietly, but not the less earnestly, to secure changes of the present law, and a board of railroad commissioners." Two weeks later, the Dubuque paper found that this latter statement was not quite correct:

⁴⁵ Fort Dodge *Times* quoted in Des Moines *Register* (daily), Feb. 12, 1876.

⁴⁶ Des Moines *Register* (daily), Feb. 19, 1876. The Wilson speech was given in full in the issue of Feb. 24, 1876.

At the outset of the discussion in many of the papers it was asserted that a modification of the law was desired, not a repeal, but it was notable that the arguments offered in support of the modification had quite as definite reference to repeal. It was this peculiarity that occasioned a suspicion that the agents of the railways were planning for total repeal by indirection.

E. H. Thayer, who was combining the duties of an Assembly member with those of a reporter for his own paper, the *Clinton Age*, echoed this: "There is a powerful lobby here in the interest of the various roads, and every influence that can possibly be brought is here in favor of the repeal of the law."⁴⁷

Nine years later, in 1885, when the Cullom congressional committee was in Des Moines holding hearings preliminary to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, S. J. Loughran told the committee:

In 1876 an effort was made to amend the law so as to relieve the railroads of the oppression they suffered under the law, and also to relieve the people. But that amendment that was desired was opposed by the railroads. They wanted a repeal of the law, and not this amendment. They must have the law excluded from the books. They would have no amendment. And they were strong enough in the legislature to prevent an amendment in 1876.⁴⁸

Whether this statement could be adequately documented is doubtful. The railroads certainly made no secret of the fact that they desired a change in the law; they would undoubtedly have been very happy with a complete repeal. When the railroad committees of the Senate and House held joint hearings, the roads sent their best men to appeal to the legislators. John F. Duncombe, prominent Democratic lawyer and railroader of Fort Dodge, spoke in behalf of the Illinois Central, pointing out the hardships which the law had visited upon his company and urging either the repeal of the law or a revision of the classification "so as to place this road on a par with the other great trunk lines." General Manager James C. Clarke of the Illinois Central also made a plea for revision; he, too, gave many facts and figures showing that the law as it stood brought financial hardships to the line.

⁴⁷ Dubuque *Weekly Times*, Feb. 9, 16, March 1, 1876; *Clinton Age*, Feb. 25, 1876.

⁴⁸ "Report of the Senate Select Committee on Interstate Commerce," *Senate Reports*, No. 46 (2 vols.), 49 Cong., 1 Sess. (1885-1886), 2:1058. This is known as the "Cullom Report" from the chairman of the committee, Shelley M. Cullom, of Illinois. Cullom had been governor of Illinois during the passage of that state's Granger laws.

Colonel Milo D. Smith spoke for the North Western and probably damaged his case by the statement that the "State of Iowa . . . never gave a dollar for railroads."⁴⁹ This of course was true in substance, since Iowa's constitution prohibited state investments in railroads, but it ignored the fact that counties, towns, and individuals had contributed mightily to the building of Iowa's railroads. Furthermore, Colonel Smith also ignored the tremendous land grants which the various roads had received through the state's allotment of congressional land grants. This seeming lack of gratitude for past favors could not have helped the railroads in their pleas for relief from a law which, they claimed, was ruining them.⁵⁰ It was hard for the lawmakers to reconcile the cries of hardship with the statements showing that most of the roads of the state were getting better returns than for several years past — a fact no doubt due more to the subsiding of the depression of 1873 than to the presence or absence of local tariff regulations. Wilson probably gave a better clue to what the roads really wanted when he claimed that a state had no right to interfere in private enterprises.⁵¹ In spite of Judge Dillon's decision and the pending Supreme Court cases the roads hoped to circumvent judicial procedures by convincing the state to give up some of its powers. They had succeeded in forcing through repeal of Granger legislation in Minnesota and Wisconsin; they hoped the same tactics would work in Iowa.⁵²

Following the arguments of the railroad men, the joint committees heard from the supporters of the law as it had been passed. M. C. Woodruff, editor of the *Dubuque Times*, reviewed the background of the passage of the law, pointed out the evils of omission and commission of the railroad corporations, and then asked why the roads wanted repeal or modification of the law which most of them had not obeyed. This, he claimed, could hardly be a fair trial. "You are asked by a party in interest," he continued, "to repeal a law which met popular approval in larger measure than any statute you can mention, before it has been practically tested, and this on the confession of those who ask it. Further, you are asked to repeal when they confess that they have made more money under it than under

⁴⁹ *Dubuque Weekly Times*, Feb. 23, 1876.

⁵⁰ For the whole story of Iowa's aid to the railroads, see Earl S. Beard, "Local Aid to Railroads in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 50:1-34 (January, 1952).

⁵¹ See above, note 46.

⁵² For the repeal of the Granger laws of Minnesota and Wisconsin, see Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement* . . . (Cambridge, 1933), 164, 193.

the old schedule of rates.”⁵³ D. E. Lyon of Dubuque went beyond the mere financial arrangements of the law to the heart of the matter — a point which had been strongly urged in 1874 and so far in 1876 almost neglected — “whether the people are sovereign.” Fred O’Donnell, a former member of the legislature and strong in his support of state railroad regulation, made a good impression on the committees by his “line of dignified argument.” His position was that the railroads did not need to raise their through-freight rates to cover losses of local rates; they had done so “to create opposition to the law.” He further urged the legislature to stand firm, show the railroads that they meant business, and by so doing force them to abide by the law. “Mr. O’Donnell,” commented an observer, “met every objection advanced by the several agents of the railways who were present, and at every interruption thoroughly discomfited his antagonists and turned their weapons against themselves.” The observer concluded, “The law will not be repealed.”⁵⁴

Besieged by numerous petitions for repeal, for modification, for retention of the law, beset by interested lobbyists, and lectured to by almost every newspaper editor in the state, the legislators set to work. As early as January 27, E. H. Thayer, Democratic editor of the *Clinton Age*, had introduced into the House a bill providing for a railroad commissioner, a modification of the classification of the roads, and the retention of the schedule of rates. On February 10 Henry H. Bush, a Republican lawyer from Hancock County, introduced a bill repealing the schedule of rates and providing for an advisory railroad commission. After due consideration and hearings from railroad lobbyists and proponents of the existing law, the House railroad committee reported on March 3, with a majority favoring the Bush bill. The House, however, by a vote of 53 to 36, with 10 not voting, preferred to consider the minority report which favored the Thayer bill.⁵⁵ After the usual legislative jockeying, revisions, voting of amendments, and the appointing of a committee to iron out the resulting confusion, the bill was lost by a vote of 59 to 36, with 4 not voting, on March 14, 1876. On the following day a similar bill had reached the second reading in the Senate; on the motion of Senator D. N. Cooley of Dubuque, the bill was tabled

⁵³ Dubuque *Weekly Times*, March 1, 1876.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1876.

⁵⁵ *House Journal*, 1876, 103, 192, 386, 430; *Clinton Age*, March 3, 1876; Dubuque *Weekly Times*, March 15, 1876.

without a roll call.⁵⁶ Thus ended the first stage of the effort for repeal of the Granger Law.

The *Register*, which had led the fight for modification of the law, was disgruntled.

The result is not in any sense gratifying. It is a humiliating confession of weakness. Among the great sisterhood of States Iowa alone confesses her inability to grapple with a question that affects the interests of every citizen within her borders. Two years ago under the impulse of excitement she took a position that is simply indefensible. . . . Thus the railroad companies are well able to say, they asked for justice and it was denied them.⁵⁷

It is significant to note that in the two months of struggle for repeal, or at least modification, the voice of the farmer — the Granger — was not heard. The fight had really been between the businessmen of the interior municipalities and those of the eastern river towns, particularly those of Dubuque, Davenport, and Clinton, where early protest against the law had given way to enthusiastic support, as they began to reap a profit from its operation. It was essentially an economic struggle between the interior cities that were paying higher through rates to Chicago, and the river towns that profited by low local rates from their warehouses to the interior towns. The *Register* struck out, time and again, at the activities of Dubuque and Davenport businessmen to fight repeal of the law; that Dubuque sent a "lobby" headed by Fred O'Donnell to fight for the law seemed shocking to Clarkson, although he did not consider the presence of railroad lobbyists in Des Moines worth mentioning.⁵⁸

Why did repeal fail in 1876? There were certainly powerful forces marshalled against the law: the railroads and a majority of the newspapers in the state fought constantly at Des Moines for repeal or at least modification, while local interests sponsored many petitions to the lawmakers. A possible explanation may be that the members of the Assembly knew their constituents better than the newspapermen, knew that they still harbored ill feelings toward the railroaders and that a seeming surrender would not be accepted kindly at home. These forces had no public voice, but they undoubtedly let their representatives know how they stood. Thayer, the author

⁵⁶ *House Journal*, 1876, 531-2; *Senate Journal*, 1876, 452.

⁵⁷ *Des Moines Register* (daily), March 16, 1876.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1876.

of the defeated bill, blamed its failure on the railroads. "Some of the roads were ready to receive it," he reported, "but others demanded unconditional and absolute repeal."⁵⁹ This seems to be the explanation accepted by those on the "inside" at Des Moines. On March 20, W. H. Fleming, perennial secretary to the governors of Iowa, wrote to ex-Governor Carpenter, then in Washington.

Nothing was done with the railroad bill. One was introduced into the House by Judge Thayer providing for a railway commissioner to be appointed by the Governor, to have power with the Executive Council to increase the schedule rates 20 per cent. or lower them 15 pr. ct. It also released the connecting branches from the operation of the law so far as it identified them with the main lines. The House, of course, made the Commissioner elective. The proposed change in reference to the branches was not acceptable to the people living on them, & failed to command a majority. The bill was finally sent to a special committee, who could not agree upon a report & two of its members made one, recommending a substitute, which, after considerable debate, was killed 58 [59] to 36, and thus ended railroad legislation, except that a bill was passed releasing penalties in favor of all railroads which would bind themselves for the next two years to obey the law, & not to pile up the tariff on through freights. This was done for the especial benefit of the Illinois Central. Had Duncombe been permitted to lead the railroad side, they would have fared a good deal better, but Withrow & Bailey, & others, insolently demanded entire repeal at least of the freight schedule. They got nothing, & I fancy they will be no better off two years hence. . . .⁶⁰

The bill mentioned by Fleming, releasing the roads that complied with the law from penalties already assessed for its violation, was passed by the Senate by a vote of 40 to 2, with 7 not voting, on the same day and but a few minutes before that body tabled the Thayer bill. The House also acted promptly, passing it by a vote of 77 to 4, with 18 not voting, on the same day, March 15. Thus, a bribe was held out to the roads: if they would comply with the law, their past sins would be forgiven.⁶¹ Within the specified time of sixty days the two "renegades" — the Illinois Central and the Burlington — bowed to the inevitable and accepted the provisions of this

⁵⁹ Clinton *Age*, March 17, 1876.

⁶⁰ W. H. Fleming to C. C. Carpenter, March 20, 1876, *Carpenter Papers*.

⁶¹ *Senate Journal*, 1876, 451; *House Journal*, 1876, 593; *Laws of Iowa*, 1876, Chap. 133, p. 123.

amnesty law, agreeing to abide by the schedule of rates of the hated Granger Law.⁶²

Meanwhile, all sides had been anxiously watching the Supreme Court for its decisions on the numerous railroad bills which had been piling up from the Granger states of Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa. However, the court adjourned in 1876 without acting.⁶³ The railroads seemed to have reached a stalemate in their fight against state regulation.

At last, early in March of 1877, the Supreme Court spoke. Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite read the Court's decision in the case of *Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy Railroad Company v. Iowa*. "Railroad companies," said Waite, "are carriers for hire." They are incorporated and given "extraordinary powers" so that they may serve the public, and are therefore engaged in a public employment "affecting the public interest," and thus subject to legislative control.

It is a matter of no importance that the power of regulation now under consideration was not exercised for more than twenty years after this company was organized. A power of government which actually exists is not lost by non-user. A good government never puts forth its extraordinary powers, except under circumstances which require it. That government is the best which, while performing all its duties, interferes the least with the lawful pursuits of its people.

The legislature of a state, therefore, "must decide for itself, subject to no control from us," whether or not to exercise its powers in the case of regulation. Judge Dillon's decision was thus affirmed.⁶⁴ This case, and several other railroad cases decided during this term of the Court, all stemmed from the famous *Munn v. Illinois* decision, which was handed down at the same time, on March 1, 1877.

Far from accepting the Court's decision as the final word, the *Des Moines Register* at once took occasion to point out that Chief Justice Waite's opinion had given the states the right of control "in the absence of Congressional legislation." The cure for the "exorbitant rates of transportation," then, was not state action but "Congressional Legislation in regulation of inter-State freights."⁶⁵ Here was the argument which would eventually lead to

⁶² *Clinton Age*, Apr. 7, 1876; *Des Moines Register* (daily), May 12, 1876.

⁶³ *Des Moines Register*, May 12, 1876.

⁶⁴ 94 *U. S. Reports* (4 Otto), 155-64.

⁶⁵ *Des Moines Register* (weekly), March 9, 1877.

the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, a type of federal legislation which had already been sponsored in Congress. In fact an Iowan, George W. McCrary, had introduced an interstate commerce bill into Congress at the very time that the Iowa Granger Law was being enacted. Regarding it, he had written to Governor Carpenter:

I do not suppose my R. R. Commerce bill is perfect — indeed I know it is not. I was obliged to compromise with the views of the more timid in order to unite my Committee upon it; but I am sure that if it becomes a law and is faithfully administered, it will correct many of the worst of the existing abuses, and will perpare the way for further legislation which will complete the work of regulation and control.⁶⁶

The idea of federal regulation was premature, however, as McCrary suspected; although his bill passed the House it failed in the Senate. Thirteen years would pass before the goal of federal control would be reached.

Meanwhile, in March of 1877 the railroads were confronted with a Supreme Court decision which, on its face, seemed to put them at the mercy of state legislatures. Two courses were open to them, both of which they followed with success in the years to come. On the one hand, the railroads could "go into politics," and this they certainly did and with outstanding success. On the other hand, they could continue to carry their fights through the courts, and this they also did until, in 1886, in the famous *Wabash* case, the Supreme Court "handed down a decision seriously impairing the legal capacity of the states to cope with the railroad problem." This, and other cases in the eighties and nineties, reflect a changing attitude toward the power of the corporation. The years from 1875 to the turn of the century were to see the tremendous development of American industry to both economic and political power. The whole spirit of the times endorsed this growth. Even the "man in the street" absorbed some of the reflected glory of America's unprecedented industrial and financial advances. The anti-monopoly agitation of the early seventies disappeared with returning general prosperity in 1880, and those who had heretofore fought the growth of monopolies now applauded them as expressions of America's might.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ George W. McCrary to C. C. Carpenter, March 29, 1874, *Carpenter Papers*. For Iowa comments on the McCrary bill, see *Des Moines Register* (weekly), June 19, July 3, 1874.

⁶⁷ For a valuable discussion of this subject, see Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development* (New York, 1948), 509ff, 547.

In Iowa, from March of 1877 to March of 1878, a combination of political and propaganda activity by the railroads, coupled with a changing point of view by the people as a whole, succeeded in the defeat of the Granger Law. Even though the state had the right to regulate railroad rates, argued the *Register* in March of 1877, "the matter of policy is more than law." And it was not good "policy" for a state still in need of many more miles of railroad to antagonize the builders of those rails.⁶⁸

Since 1877 was a year for electing a new governor and a new Assembly in Iowa, the railroads had an immediate opportunity to try their skill at politics. Benjamin F. Gue, a former lieutenant governor and Fort Dodge newspaper editor, who knew his way around the political scene in Iowa, wrote many years later:

The corporation managers had been active during the summer and fall in securing the nomination and election of their friends to seats in the Legislature and when the House was organized they secured the presiding officer of that body, easily controlling the popular branch of the General Assembly. Senator Campbell had been elected Lieutenant-Governor and was President of the Senate. Here the battle was fought out. The railroad committee of the Senate was made up with a majority opposed to repeal. As the fight grew warm two members of that committee were influenced to change their minds and vote for repeal and the Railway Commission bill.⁶⁹

Another Iowa editor wrote in his memoirs:

In the summer of 1877 the railways, to protect themselves from the clamor for public control, entered the field of politics in Iowa, in full force, and were not fully put out of politics until 1910, or 33 years later. In 1877 the railways went into county conventions and often secured the nominations of candidates favorable to the railways. They gave large shippers special favors and got their aid in the political game. They used free passes freely on legislators and public officials.⁷⁰

A contemporary account is even more illuminating. The struggle for the governorship was between John F. Gear, a Burlington wholesaler who had been Speaker of the House in the 1876 Assembly; Buren R. Sherman, state auditor from Vinton; and Joshua G. Newbold, who, as lieutenant governor

⁶⁸ Des Moines *Register* (weekly), March 9, 1877.

⁶⁹ Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 3:94-5.

⁷⁰ I. A. Nichols, *Forty Years of Rural Journalism in Iowa* (Fort Dodge, 1938), 113.

under Kirkwood, had succeeded to the governorship in 1877 when Kirkwood resigned to become United States Senator. On the eve of the state convention, W. H. Fleming wrote to his friend C. C. Carpenter:

Gear is doomed to defeat on anything like a fair expression of the Convention. He may succeed, however, through the procurement of proxies. The railroad corporations are doing all they can for him. They charge the executive office with defeating the repeal of the granger tariff law last session. Tom Withrow told Gov. Kirkwood to keep out of the fight then, so that the RR. men could make it. But the Governor didn't do a great deal, positively, although the RR. men felt his influence; but we got up some tables that played the deuce with them. Now, the RRs. want the Governorship, and Sherman got word the other day that Clinton county delegates who would agree to vote for Gear should come & go free from D. M. [Des Moines]. I fancy these tactics are pursued everywhere.⁷¹

Gear won the nomination, much to the disgust of many Iowans who suspected the sincerity of his support of the popular temperance movement — a question which was agitating the minds of voters in 1877 much more than the railroad problem. Contrary to the usual political procedure of partisan newspapers of accepting their party's nominee with enthusiasm, the *Fort Dodge Messenger* was furious over the choice of Gear and so far let down the bars as to mention railroad influence in politics, a subject usually studiously avoided by most editors.

With the nomination of the candidates for Governor and Supreme Judge we thank God that the hands of the Republicans of Webster county are clean. Mr. Gear's forced nomination by the ring, aided by the railroads and profuse and lavish use of whisky and money, will fall upon the masses of the voters of Iowa like a clap of thunder on a clear day. The same ring with the aid of railroads and monopolies of all kinds nominated Mr. Day [James G. Day], and his nomination is an insult to the honesty and intelligence of the Republicans of Iowa.⁷²

One other witness may be called on the subject of the Iowa railroads and politics. In 1905 Charles Aldrich, always an ardent politician, wrote a candid article on his activities in behalf of the repeal of the Granger Law. He recalled that "in June or July, 1877," he had received a letter from John F. Duncombe urging him to come to Fort Dodge. Upon Aldrich's arrival,

⁷¹ W. H. Fleming to C. C. Carpenter, June 15, 1877, *Carpenter Papers*.

⁷² *Fort Dodge Messenger*, quoted in the *Iowa City Daily Press*, July 12, 1877.

Duncombe explained to him that he wanted his help "in an effort to repeal or greatly modify the so-called granger law for the regulation of the charges for freight and passenger fares on the railroads." His work was to be in behalf of the Illinois Central in particular, but all the roads would benefit. Duncombe next asked Aldrich to go into northern Iowa and sound out the people there as to "any feeling of hostility to the railroads." Aldrich quoted Duncombe as saying: "Learn who is likely to go to the legislature from each of the districts. If you find a friend who needs help, we will help him if we can."⁷³

Thus the railroads entered into the 1877 political campaign on all levels, but little word of their activity found its way into the newspapers. In fact, the railroad problem was hardly mentioned. The Republican state platform did not even contain the word "railroad," while the Democrats merely stated that although the courts had established the right of state control "this right must be exercised with due regard to justice, and as there is no necessary antagonism between the people and these corporations the common interests of both demand a speedy restoration of former friendly relations through a just legislation on the one side and a cheerful submission thereto on the other." On the eve of the election the *Register* had a half-column on "The Issues in Iowa" which contained the standard attacks on the Democrats, hearty criticism of the Greenbackers, and sneers at "Temperance" men — but not a word on the railroad question.⁷⁴

Thus the violence of the newspaper campaign against the Granger Law, which began as early as November of 1877 and continued through 1878 until repeal had been achieved, must have come as a surprise to the voter who had supposed that the election was for the main purpose of saving Iowa from "Copperhead" Democrats, "communist" Greenbackers, and whisky. William Larrabee, who had long served as a Senator in the Assembly, said that there had been "no expression of public dissatisfaction during the campaign preceding the session of the General Assembly," but that "the masses of the people believed that the law was based upon just principles and desired its perfection rather than its repeal."⁷⁵

⁷³ Charles Aldrich, "The Repeal of the Granger Law in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 3:256-7 (April, 1905).

⁷⁴ *Iowa City Daily Press*, Aug. 30, 1877; *Des Moines Register* (weekly), June 29, Oct. 5, 1877.

⁷⁵ William Larrabee, *The Railroad Question . . .* (Chicago, 1895), 334-5. Peter A. Dey quoted Larrabee to the same effect in "Railroad Legislation in Iowa," *Iowa*

Credit for instigating the newspaper campaign for a revision of the law is claimed by Charles Aldrich. He spent six weeks in the late summer of 1877 touring the northern counties where railroads were scarce and much desired, sounding out public opinion and lending a political hand where necessary. "In a few localities," he wrote, "where I thought an improvement could be made by helping another than the prominent candidate for the legislature, I did what I could in that direction." Upon his return he made a report to Duncombe, suggesting three things: "(1) Strike for the Massachusetts law (that is, the commissioner system). (2) To effect this change agitate the question to the utmost through the newspapers. (3) Send a man to the eastern cities to start this agitation." Duncombe sent Aldrich first to Chicago, where the president of the Illinois Central looked askance at the idea, and then to New York and to Boston. In the latter city Aldrich interviewed Charles Francis Adams, Jr., railroad commissioner for Massachusetts, and tried to interest him in writing an article for the *Atlantic Monthly* which could be used to set off the repeal campaign in Iowa. Failing in this request, Aldrich at last found a willing listener in a reporter on the *New York Tribune*, and on November 15, 1877, that paper printed an editorial on "Iowa and Its Railroads."⁷⁶

Having been fairly successful in their foray into the political field, the railroads now turned their attention to Aldrich's second suggestion: "agitate the question to the utmost through the newspapers." As was customary, the powerful *Des Moines Register* maintained a discreet silence until the other state papers had spoken. Then, carefully choosing its sources, the *Register* began in early January, 1878, reprinting without comment paragraphs from other papers which opposed the present law. The New Year was initiated with a quotation from the *Hamilton Freeman*, claiming that the need for "some modification" of the law "seems to be admitted on all hands." Buried in the middle of this quoted paragraph was a sentence which was to be repeated and enlarged upon many times: "Little of importance in the way of railroad building has been done since the passage of this law."⁷⁷

Historical Record, 9:558 (October, 1893): "Governor Larrabee, who was probably the most active of all the members of the Seventeenth General Assembly in favoring the repeal . . . claims that the legislation was due to the persistent pressure brought by the corporations who had recovered somewhat from the conflict of 1874. . . . He states positively that the law was generally popular and its repeal was against the drift of popular sentiment."

⁷⁶ Aldrich, "Repeal of the Granger Law in Iowa," 256-70.

⁷⁷ *Hamilton Freeman*, quoted in *Des Moines Register* (daily), Jan. 1, 1878.

This was the propaganda line which was to be used with great success during 1878. No longer did the papers print stories showing how the railroads were being hurt financially — yearly reports of increasing profits belied this. There were no more complaints of the increased cost to Iowa shippers. But again and again two facts were emphasized, one stemming from the other: eastern and foreign capital shunned investment in Iowa railroads; therefore, no more roads would be built in Iowa until the removal of the odious Granger Law. This attitude was expressed by a "Des Moines man" who signed himself merely "J" in a letter to the *Register*:

It is an absolute impossibility to induce any of the capitalists, or parties representing capital in the East, to invest *one dollar* in a railroad in Iowa, until the present tariff law is abolished or greatly modified. The writer speaks from personal experience and interviews had with many of the capitalists of Philadelphia and New York within the past ninety days. These capitalists say unhesitatingly that they will not invest any more money in a State where they cannot have any control of their property. . . . Repeal the tariff law at the present session and there will be more miles of railroad built in Iowa within the next two years than have been during the past six years.⁷⁸

This appeal, of course, would have great influence in northern and northwestern Iowa where the need and demand for railroads was strong. It was part of a well-laid plan, wrote Benjamin F. Gue, "to unite the citizens of the sections of the State where railroads were wanted, and had not yet been extended . . . in a well organized movement for the repeal of the Granger Law." Construction companies announced that no further roads would be built, and newspapers were "influenced" to attack the law and demand repeal or modification. "To the public," wrote Gue, "who knew nothing of the secret concert of action, it appeared that there was a change in public opinion and a demand for repeal of the Granger Law." I. A. Nichols recalled that the railroads "played up and secured the support of parts of the state without railways, claiming that no new roads could or would be built until the railway laws were repealed." Linn County residents had appealed to the North Western for an extension of its lines to the northern part of the county. General Manager Marvin Hughitt's answer of February 15, 1878, was revealing: "Our stockholders would not invest a dollar in immovable railroad property in the State of Iowa under the existing laws

⁷⁸ Des Moines *Register* (daily), Feb. 28, 1878.

of that State. . . . If the Legislature, which is now in session, shall decide to change the law abolishing fixed schedules, our company might be willing to consider the question . . . but it is useless to talk about such extensions under existing statutes.”⁷⁹

This type of argument was tremendously effective in gaining support for a change in the Granger Law. The fact that very little railroad building had been done not only in Iowa but throughout the nation since the panic of 1873 was ignored. From the close of the Civil War until 1870 there had been a tremendous expansion of Iowa's railroads. Then came the panic of 1873, and railroad construction had come to a sudden halt. As early as January, 1874, before the passage of the Granger Law which now was blamed for this lack of construction, Governor Carpenter had told the Assembly: “During the past two years the construction of railroads in this State has largely fallen off, as compared with the biennium immediately preceding.” In 1878 retiring Governor Newbold said, “I see no good reason for the entire repeal of the law. I am aware that it is argued that its retention has the effect to deter capital from investing in railroads in Iowa. This may be, but I do not find that the absence of such a statute has had the effect to hasten more rapidly the construction of railroads in neighboring states.” He then went on to point out that railroad mileage in Iowa had actually increased during 1874-1876, “both absolutely and relatively,” at a higher rate than in any of the surrounding states. Percentage-wise, the miles of road in Iowa were increasing at about the same rate as in the nation as a whole; an increase which was admittedly very small everywhere.⁸⁰ Both the decline in railroad building and the Granger Laws of the Middle West could be said to be the results of the financial panic brought on by the railroads themselves, through stock-watering and overexpansion. Yet, in the heated propaganda campaign of 1878 in Iowa, the Grangers and their law were given full blame for the lack of construction, and few saw the fallacy in the argument.

Instead, newspaper readers found such arguments as this presented time after time:

⁷⁹ Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . , 3:94; Nichols, *Forty Years of Rural Journalism in Iowa*, 113. The Hughitt letter, published in *Cedar Rapids Republican*, Feb. 16, 1878, was quoted in *Des Moines Register* (daily), Feb. 19, 1878.

⁸⁰ Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations* . . . , 4:90, 360. For miles of railroad constructed, see *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* (Washington, 1949), 200.

When the law was passed we were building railroads at a rapid rate, and thereby developing our many resources. We were doing this with capital drawn largely from the East. But when it was known that we, as a State, proposed to place such restrictions upon capital that no profit could result from its investments within our borders, we couldn't get another dollar, and our railroad improvements were brought to a standstill.

The Burlington *Hawk-Eye* thundered: "Cast-iron tariffs preclude any increased supply of railroads." Regulations of the laws of commerce "are communistic in conception and piratical in practice," concluded the editor. A letter to the *Register* from Alex Graham of Cedar Falls, who was described as "an extensive shipper and leading business man," stated firmly that "all legislation restricting trade and business must ever be essentially defective because it is outside the ability as well as the legitimate province of legislation. . . . All experience proves that *the laws of trade* are wiser than all human legislation." Iowa's future prosperity, wrote the *Register*, now lay in every encouragement for the investment of eastern capital in her industries and her railroads, particularly the latter, for "that which, in the long run, is conducive to the prosperity of the transportation lines will enhance to the prosperity of the public."⁸¹

Such were the arguments, expressive of the accepted economic thought of the era, which filled the columns of the newspapers and poured in upon the General Assembly sitting in Des Moines. Four days after the legislature assembled, the first bill for the repeal of the Granger Law was introduced into the House by Representative Oil Coomes of Cass County, a newcomer to Iowa politics who was to achieve fame as a prolific writer of dime novels. Four other bills were later introduced, all with the same objective — to repeal the Granger Law and replace it with a commissioner system. On February 27 the five bills, plus a substitute which combined some of the features of all of them, were reported favorably by the House railroad committee. On March 7 the bill passed the House by a vote of 55 to 43, with 2 not voting; on March 12 it was referred to the Senate; on March 19 it passed the Senate by a vote of 29 to 21; on March 23, four years to the day after the signing of the Granger Law, Governor Gear signed the act repealing it.⁸²

⁸¹ Lansing *North Iowa Journal*, Jan. 16, 1878; Burlington *Hawk-Eye* quoted in Des Moines *Register* (daily), Feb. 2, 1878; see also issues of *ibid.*, for Feb. 8, 12, 1878.

⁸² *House Journal*, 1878, 344; *Senate Journal*, 1878, 367; *Laws of Iowa*, 1878, Chap. 77, pp. 67-72.

All this did not come about without opposition, however, nor was the bill repealed with anything like the unanimity with which it had been passed. A majority of only 12 in the House and 8 in the Senate indicates that, in spite of the newspaper publicity for repeal, there must have been a hard core of opposition to a change in the law throughout the state. The exact factors motivating this opposition are not clear. Part of it was geographic — several eastern river towns (Davenport, Clinton, Dubuque) fought repeal bitterly, while western and northern Iowa counties, where there were few railroads, fought just as bitterly for repeal. The case for the eastern river cities had been given in 1876 by the Davenport *Gazette*: repeal of the law would “be the death of the shipping and wholesaling interests of all eastern counties,” which “now do a part of the business formerly monopolized by Chicago.”⁸³ Other business interests in the state, not so favorably situated geographically, did not agree, evidently, since the businessmen of Des Moines and Burlington sent petitions and delegations to the General Assembly in 1878 to plead for repeal. The petitions sent to the legislature show a certain geographic emphasis: of the 95 received by the Assembly, 68 opposed repeal, 27 favored it. Of the 68 in opposition, 50 were from the eastern half of the state; of the 27 asking repeal, 16 were from the western counties. Further emphasizing the geographic division is the fact that of the 68 votes in the eastern half of the state, 33 opposed repeal; of the 36 votes in the western, less populated portion, 10 were cast against repeal.

Politically, the vote seems to have no significance. In the legislature there was a total of 109 Republicans, 37 Democrats, 3 Greenbackers, and one who classed himself as an “independent.” Of the 109 Republicans, 46 voted against repeal; of the 37 Democrats, 16; of the 3 Greenbackers, 2. Economically, the picture is still vague: of the 65 farmers, 28 opposed repeal; of the 47 lawyers, 19; of the 27 men whose varied occupations could be classed under the heading of “business,” 13; and of the 11 professional men of one kind and another, 4. Since about the same percentage of the total vote opposing repeal (43 per cent) appears in each economic class (farmers, 43 per cent; lawyers, 40 per cent; businessmen, 48 per cent; professional men, 36 per cent), it would appear that this type of explanation does not indicate a trend.⁸⁴

⁸³ Davenport *Gazette* quoted in Dubuque *Weekly Times*, Feb. 16, 1876.

⁸⁴ These figures and percentages come from a comparison of the vote as shown in the House and Senate *Journals* for 1878; the information given on the various mem-

In discussing the course of the bill in the House, the *Des Moines Register* gave credit for the large number of votes against it to "the remarkable zeal and activity of Dubuque and Davenport." Of the 43 who voted against its passage in the House, the *Register* claimed that "there were at least 10, to our personal knowledge, who endorsed the bill, personally, and desired to vote for it, being satisfied it was right, but who were led by local reasons to vote against it." Furthermore, said Clarkson's paper, "of the remonstrances sent in nine out of ten were procured and sent in by the hired agents" of Dubuque and Davenport. This may or may not have been true (newspaper ethics were rather flexible in the 1870's); possibly it was the *Register's* way of justifying the rather large vote against the bill.⁸⁵ One explanation of the activity of the Dubuque and Davenport businessmen in fighting for what was originally considered a farmer's bill was given by a Floyd County newspaper:

Dubuque and Davenport are excited over the vote of the House repealing the railroad tariff law. We do not blame them. The law was conceived in the interest of the river cities and they are the only ones benefitted thereby. The reduction of local tariff enabled the Dubuque merchant to sell his wares to the country dealer at a higher profit; in other words he added the reduction on local rates to his former price and delivered the goods to his customers at the old price. No country dealer ever received any of the difference. While the law benefitted a few dealers in the river towns it was a tax upon the produce of every farmer in the State. . . .

A truer explanation was probably that lower freight rates in Iowa enabled the Dubuque and Davenport merchants to undersell their Chicago rivals. The Cedar Rapids *Republican*, a repeal paper, commented that: "the low local rates enable the wholesale merchants of the large cities of the State to more successfully compete with the Chicago merchants," and concluded that: "If the principal business of Iowa was wholesaling dry goods and groceries, the tariff law would be a good thing to keep." This was the reason, continued the editor, "why an immense merchant lobby force two years ago was able to hold the law." The Marshalltown *Times*, another repeal paper, wrote in the same vein: ". . . the law benefits only the river

bers is in "Rules of the Seventeenth General Assembly . . . 1878," in *Iowa Documents*, 1878, Vol. 2. Petitions sent to the House and Senate may be found by consulting the index for the *Journal* of each chamber for 1878.

⁸⁵ *Des Moines Register* (daily), March 7, 8, 1878.

towns and only a class of jobbers in these towns." A hint that the Mississippi River steamboat interests may have been active in the fight on the question was given by the *Des Moines Register*. This would be understandable, since lower local rates might have encouraged shippers to send their produce to the river cities for trans-shipment, via the cheaper river route, to New Orleans.⁸⁶ Thus it was that 1878 saw the interesting spectacle of businessmen fighting for a law which had been passed originally, so it was supposed, for the benefit of the farmer. In 1878, with the Grange on the decline and in financial difficulties, few farm voices were raised in support of the bill. For that matter, the bill as passed in 1878 was practically the type of bill recommended by the State Grange in 1874. It had taken four years for the legislators to come around to the Grange way of thinking and to pass what was, in reality, the "Granger Law."

The agrarian protest movement, sparked by the Grange, was declining by 1878. Greenbackism, the next phase of Midwestern radicalism, made small headway in Iowa in the seventies, although a few Greenbackers found their way into the General Assembly, and two — James B. Weaver and Edward H. Gillette — went to Congress in the eighties. It was in this period of calm, after the hiatus of the Granger years, that the railroads quietly stepped in and took over — through propaganda in the newspapers and through political pressure — and defeated the laws passed and declared constitutional that hampered the exercise of corporate freedom. Again it should be pointed out that all newspapers that fought for repeal of railroad regulation were not necessarily railroad-owned; their economic philosophy did not always have to be bought. The editors of probably the greater majority of the papers of the country reflected the prevailing *laissez faire* beliefs of what came to be known as "big business." The tremendous commercial and industrial expansion of the so-called Gilded Age was a source of wonder and pride to Americans; only when the financial structure of the country lost its delicate balance and a depression resulted were voices raised to question the gospel of wealth. Once the economy righted itself and continued its steady climb, the voices of protest were stilled. But there was always an echo of these voices, an echo heard again with each ensuing panic.⁸⁷

Almost forgotten was the question of constitutionality, of the power of

⁸⁶ The various papers mentioned are quoted in the *Des Moines Register* (daily), Jan. 12, Feb. 9, March 9, 15, 1878.

⁸⁷ For discussions of American radicalism, see Benton H. Wilcox, "An Historical Definition of Northwestern Radicalism," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 26:

the people through their government to control state-chartered corporations. The Supreme Court had given its blessing to this power, now the state abrogated it, and the action was greeted with applause. As is often the case, legislative triumphs in the interest of the whole people — achieved during times of financial distress — are willingly given up when “good times” return. Governmental interference with the economy was contrary to the whole spirit of American life in the 1870’s. “Most Americans despised any suggestion of paternalism in government,” according to a recent constitutional study.⁸⁸ The statement of an Iowa Senator, during the debate over repeal in 1876, would probably have been accepted without question by a majority of the people: “It is morally right for railroads to violate the spirit of the law if it is such a law that conformity to it will result in financial embarrassment to them.”⁸⁹

One other phase of the contest over railroad regulation in Iowa should again be pointed out. The bill, the result of the Granger-Anti-Monopoly agitation of 1874, was defended in its last battle not by farmers but by businessmen. The fight had become, in the last analysis, a struggle within the capitalist framework between big and little business. The “shipping and wholesaling interests” of the river towns were probably looking only to their own cash drawers and not to the larger issue of public interest versus the vested rights of monopolies, but they fought hard to keep the farmers’ law on the books. The river town businessmen profited from the law because of their geographic position. Other business interests in the state, not as fortunately situated geographically, saw things in a different light. They needed more railroads which they thought would bring competition and a resulting decline in freight rates, in response to the law of supply and demand. That they could argue this in the face of the earlier history of pooling of railroad rates at competing points seems rather short-sighted, but the argument appeared time and again.⁹⁰ The repeal of Iowa’s Granger Law, then, actually was achieved by one group of businessmen, backed by the railroads, and opposed by another group of businessmen, backed only by

377-94 (December, 1939); Chester McA. Destler, “Western Radicalism, 1865-1901: Concepts and Origins,” *ibid.*, 31:335-68 (December, 1944); Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics . . . 1870-1950* (East Lansing, Michigan, 1951).

⁸⁸ Kelly and Harbison, *American Constitution* . . . , 510.

⁸⁹ Des Moines Register (daily), March 14, 1876.

⁹⁰ See Julius Grodinsky, *The Iowa Pool, A Study in Railroad Competition, 1870-84* (Chicago, 1950).

their local needs and the aid of a scattering of farmers and lawyers also motivated, no doubt, by their varying local interests.

The resulting law establishing a board of three commissioners had few teeth. The railroads were taxed for the expense of the commission and could easily control the board set up to control them. The caliber of the men selected by the governor to serve on the board was, therefore, of importance. That Governor Gear chose well is without question. His first choice was ex-Governor Carpenter, whose reputation for honesty and fair play was as high as that of any man in the state. Unfortunately for the working of the commission, Carpenter resigned after a few months to accept a nomination to Congress from his district. He was replaced by M. C. Woodruff of Dubuque, editor of the *Dubuque Times*, one of the papers which had waged a strong fight against the repeal of the original law. The second choice was Peter A. Dey of Iowa City, a civil engineer with extensive experience in building railroads. Dey began a long career on the board in 1878, serving with distinction until 1895. For the third place, Gear chose a lawyer, James W. McDill, a former district judge and Congressman. McDill served only three years.⁹¹ Hampered as it was by a weak law, the board could show no great achievements, and all eyes were soon turned to Washington for a solution to the "railroad problem." Experience had shown that state regulation of segments of railroad lines, which were essentially interstate highways, would not work. If there was to be some regulatory power over the railroads, it must come from the federal government.

Many felt that with the failure of Iowa's Granger Law a long step backward had been taken. Gue commented that "It took ten years to recover the lost ground and cost the people of the State millions of dollars." William Larrabee, who had supported the law of 1878 in the legislature, wrote:

. . . in the course of time it became apparent that either the law had not lodged sufficient authority in the commission or the commission did not make use of the authority which the law had given them. In spite of the commission, the railroad companies maintained pools and charged extortionate and discriminating rates, in direct violation of the law. . . . The people soon found that the new system of control was almost as inadequate as that which it had displaced.

⁹¹ Des Moines Register (daily), March 24, 1878; Dey, "Railroad Legislation in Iowa," 558-9; Jack T. Johnson, *Peter Anthony Dey* . . . (Iowa City, 1949), 180-89. For McDill, see Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . , 4:175-6.

In spite of efforts of the legislature from time to time to strengthen the law, the railroads were always able to defeat any revisions until 1888, when they were at last defeated by a strong-minded legislature. The law was then strengthened, and peace came at last to the long period of agitation over the railroads.⁹²

The year before, in 1887, the federal government had at last adopted the Interstate Commerce Act, and the principle of government control of "carriers for hire" was established. Another blow at monopolies was struck in 1890 with the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. That these acts were not at first effective was inevitable, since the will to enforce them was weak. However, they wrote into law the principles fought for by Grangers, by Alliance men, and by Populists—that the rights of the people as a whole are superior to the rights of corporations. That the original Granger laws were ineffective and often unfair to the railroads is unquestioned. After all, this type of legislation was new and subject to all the weaknesses of such experiments. Peter A. Dey, when testifying before the Cullom committee in 1885, said that the Iowa law, "for fixed legislation, was the most perfect that man could get up."⁹³ William Larrabee, who had served in the Iowa Assemblies of 1874, 1876, and 1878, differed with Dey:

The Iowa law was imperfect in detail, and yet its enactment proved one of the greatest legislative achievements in the history of the State. It demonstrated to the people their ability to correct by earnestness and perseverance the most far-reaching public abuses and led to an emphatic judicial declaration of the common-law principle that railroads are highways and as such are subject to any legislative control which may be deemed necessary for the public welfare.⁹⁴

The "public welfare" had been served by the Granger Laws, and although these laws were repealed, the principle they had established was preserved and expanded through succeeding decades in state and federal legislation. The history of the law in Iowa is one segment of the whole movement in American history by which the rights of the many have been recognized as superior to the rights of the few.

⁹² Gue, *History of Iowa* . . ., 3:95; Larrabee, *Railroad Question*, 336-42.

⁹³ "Cullom Report," 2:958.

⁹⁴ Larrabee, *Railroad Question*, 333.

A LITTLE GIRL ON AN IOWA FORTY, 1873-1880 — CATHARINE WIGGINS PORTER¹

Edited by Kenneth W. Porter

My parents, James W Wiggins (1842-1886) — the W stood for nothing and was intended to distinguish him from an uncle — and Catharine Ann McCollum (1837-1914), were born, reared, and grew to maturity in Indiana County, Western Pennsylvania. They were of Scotch-Irish ancestry. My father's great-grandfather in the paternal line, Samuel Wiggins, and his wife Margaret, natives of somewhere in Ireland, came to America sometime in the latter part of the eighteenth century. My father's mother's maiden name was Lena Ann Armstrong (1808-1875), the daughter of Alexander Armstrong (ca. 1760-1838 or '39) and Lena Hindman. Alexander Armstrong's parents, William Armstrong of Dublin, Ireland, and Flora Campbell, came to this country about the middle of the eighteenth century and settled on a farm in what is now Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Flora Campbell was reputedly the daughter of a younger son of an Irish nobleman, traditionally said to be of County Antrim. My father's father's name was Samuel (1811-1895). My mother used to say: "I never knew of a Wiggins or an Armstrong who could not either dance or play the fiddle or sing."

My mother's father, David Hineman McCollum (1801-1877), was a blacksmith and a farmer, and in the former capacity made cannon balls and chains for ships used in the Mexican War, often deeply regretting that his work was for the purpose, as he said, of "sending men into eternity." His

¹ These reminiscences of my mother, Catharine Wiggins Porter (1873-1952), were set down by her in a connected narrative during 1939. Questions, designed to clarify or amplify the narrative, were answered, frequently with the assistance of her older brothers, David Lincoln Wiggins (1867-1945), of Hoxie, Kansas, and San Diego, California, and Samuel Telford Wiggins (1869-), of Selden, Kansas, and this additional material incorporated into the original manuscript, which has also been somewhat rearranged and cut, but without materially altering the language. The editor's contribution, except as above indicated, is confined to the notes. An article dealing with the fashion in which the family amused themselves on winter evenings, entitled "Winter Evenings in Iowa, 1873-1880," appeared in the *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 56 (April-June, 1943); to some extent it supplements the present article.

father was brought to Pennsylvania as a babe in arms, probably from County Antrim, Ireland; the vessel was wrecked and the family lost everything but their lives, including the family Bible. My maternal grandmother, Hannah Jane Brown McCollum (1806-1892), was born in Mercer County, Pennsylvania, the daughter of Hugh Brown (1761 or '62-1845), a weaver from County Down, Ireland, and of Sally Wilson (1769 or '70-1838) of Whitehall, Maryland; Sally Wilson's mother was a Bankhead. Hannah Jane Brown is said to have dreamed one night of a young man and to have seen the young man of her dreams in church the next morning; since he was a stranger, her father invited him home for dinner. That was the beginning of a romance which culminated in marriage.

Politically, my paternal grandfather and all his five brothers save one were Democrats; the exception, James, was a Republican. All were in favor of preserving the Union and, except for one Democrat, were opposed to slavery. My father, at the age of nineteen and against his parents' wishes, enlisted on August 7, 1862, in Company A, 135th Pennsylvania Infantry, to serve for nine months. Records of the War Department describe him: "height, 6 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; complexion, fair; eyes, blue; hair, brown; occupation, farmer." He saw no fighting, due, he believed, to McClellan's cowardice or, possibly, disloyalty to the North; contracted typhoid fever, from which he never fully recovered, "was mustered out and honorably discharged as a private January 8, 1863, at Washington, D. C., by reason of disability," and was brought home by his father. His particular grievance against McClellan, which was shared by other members of his company, was that they were supposed to go into action one night, sleeping dressed and ready, and then the order was cancelled.²

My mother was from a pretty thoroughly Black Republican and Abolitionist household, though her oldest sister did choose a Democrat and pro-slavery man — one of my father's uncles — for her husband. When drafted he borrowed \$300 and hired a substitute, who was killed. Grandmother McCollum claimed that this couple's lack of financial success was a visitation

² George B. McClellan was restored to the command of the Army of the Potomac on September 1, 1862. After the battles of South Mountain and Antietam he permitted Lee to accomplish the withdrawal of his army across the Potomac and did not follow until late in October. He was removed from his command on November 7. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11:581-5. Private Wiggins' complaint against McClellan presumably developed during the period of inactivity following Antietam, September 17, which led to the general's removal. Wiggins was probably incapacitated by typhoid from participation in the battle of Fredericksburg.

of Providence because of their opposition to freeing the slaves. Grandfather McCollum's strong religious and political views are indicated by the following anecdotes. There had been news of a big battle, and the family did not know whether Ebenezer McCollum, one of my mother's brothers, had been in it or not. Her youngest brother, Harvey, somehow got hold of a newspaper on the Sabbath, and found in it some news of the battle; he brought the paper to grandfather and silently pointed out the article. Grandfather calmly put the paper aside and went on reading his Bible. A day or so after Lincoln's assassination, Grandfather McCollum was in town and observed a man wearing a red feather in his hat, pointing to it with glee as he made some slighting remark about Lincoln. In reporting the affair, grandfather, who was a man of over sixty, exclaimed: "He was nothing but a Breckinridge³ black-hearted traitor and if I had been a younger man I'd have knocked him down." When the Wigginses and the McCollums visited, politics were never mentioned.

Religiously, both my father's and my mother's people were members of the United Presbyterian Church,⁴ which was then distinguished from the larger Presbyterian denominations by its determined opposition to slavery, oath-bound secret societies, and instrumental music in church services, and by its insistence on the use in worship of a metrical version of the Psalms to the exclusion of uninspired songs (hymns).

My parents were married on August 29, 1865, and when a son was born on September 1, 1867, he was named David Lincoln, after his mother's father and the late President. The year following his birth my parents decided to leave Pennsylvania. They had begun married life "on a shoe-string" and were either renting land or, perhaps, living with the parents of one or another of them. There was no opportunity to get ahead in Pennsylvania. Land was too dear. And then, too, in Indiana County every-

³ John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, was the Southern Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1860.

⁴ The United Presbyterian Church was formed in 1858 by the union of the Associate Presbyterian Church and the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. The latter denomination was the result of a union in 1782 of a part of the Reformed Presbyterians, sometimes known as "Covenanters" or "Cameronians," followers of Richard Cameron, who was killed in battle with the royal troops at Ayrmoos in Scotland in 1685, and part of the Associate Presbyterians, or "Seceders," followers of Ebenezer Erskine and others who were expelled from the Church of Scotland in 1733 for insisting that ministers should be chosen by the congregation rather than by a "majority of elders and heritors." *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 9:209, 234.

body was related to everybody else, and my mother was one of those free spirits who wanted to be out and on her own without too much advice from relatives. They decided to move to Iowa, rent for a while, and save enough to buy some of the cheaper land of that state.

Father came to Iowa early in the spring of 1868 and decided to settle in Page County in the southwestern corner of the state. He then sent for his wife and child, who came west late in May of the same year. It was a long tiresome journey at best, and with a bottle-fed baby the trip was a serious undertaking. There were no comforts on the train; no ice, no prepared foods, no dining car. Milk had to be bought wherever the train might stop; it might be reasonably fresh or it might be sour. The result, before the journey ended, was a very sick child. The baby's crying disturbed the other passengers, and many irate glares and unkind remarks were directed against the mother who, never having been on a train before, was almost at her wit's end. Finally a man came brusquely up, snatched the baby away, rubbed some sweetish sticky preparation about his mouth and nose, and returned him to his mother without a word. The baby went to sleep and awoke much better.

At last the journey — which had involved crossing the Mississippi River from Savannah, Illinois, to Clinton, Iowa, on a ferry boat — came to an end, and father and mother located on a farm owned by the man who was to be their pastor. He proved to be hard and stern — by no means a pleasant landlord. His admonitions from the pulpit and his actions out of it did not coincide. For example, on a certain Sabbath morning the preacher announced that on the following Sabbath communion services would be observed and that on Saturday afternoon "preparatory services" would be held which all members were urged and expected to attend — a practice of that denomination which still obtains. Father and mother, taking their pastor at his word, were almost ready to be on their way to church the following Saturday when one of the pastor's sons appeared with the message that "pap" wanted "Jim" to plow a certain field that afternoon. So the family remained at home and "Jim," like an obedient renter, plowed the field. In like manner, the Reverend Mr. Anderson in his role of landlord was forever dictating what to do and when to do it. It was in "Preacher Anderson's Log Cabin House, 3 or 4 mi N W of College Springs (Amity), Iowa," that a second son, Samuel Telford, was born on December 2, 1869.

A year or so later my parents moved to another farm, but they were still renters. Finally they decided that, no matter what the consequences, they would be renters no longer. How often I've heard my mother say: "I told your father, 'I'd rather live in a hole in the side of a hill that is our own, than be a renter.'" With this sentiment my father was in agreement, so in 1871 they bought "on time" from the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, at \$2.50 per acre, 40 acres five and a half miles northwest of Clarinda, Iowa. It was here that I was born early on a cold November morning (the 5th) in 1873. Father went for a neighbor woman before going to Clarinda for the doctor, and before the doctor could arrive with the black bag in which babies were brought in those days (storks had not then taken over that job), I had already appeared on the scene. I was quite a large, husky child, weighing nearly ten pounds, but soon "went to sticks" (as mother called it) because no proper food could be found. One day in desperation mother mixed some cream and coffee, which for some reason proved to be just what was needed. In a short time I began to thrive and was finally able to take ordinary cow's milk. I can dimly remember the cradle in which I was rocked to sleep.

The house in which I was born was a story-and-a-half building, about 16 by 20 feet. It was made of broad boards, laid vertically, the cracks covered by batting on the outside. There was no plastering on the walls, only heavy building paper tacked to the studding. This one room sufficed for all purposes for some four or five years, when a "lean-to" was built at the back and provided a kitchen and small pantry. About this time there was also built an uncovered porch of broad boards the entire length of the house. It was reached by two steps, which made a fine place to sit.

Such furniture as the house contained had been shipped from Pennsylvania.⁵ We had, however, enough for comfort, and only when company came did any of the children have to "stand" at the table. When large groups came, such as threshers, long boards were placed on two or more chairs and ample seating space was thus provided.

There was always a rag carpet on the floor, woven by mother, often in stripes. The bed which stood in the corner was always nicely made and covered with one of mother's charming appliqued quilts, which came near to the floor and covered the trundle bed, kept underneath during the day and pulled out at night.

⁵ See *Journal of American Folklore*, 56:97-8.

There was a cellar under the house, but it was entirely unwallled and used only for vegetables. In the fall the house was well "banked up" with earth to keep out the cold and, although the coal oil sometimes froze in the lamps, the vegetables suffered damage only once, when the weather was so frigid that our "peach blow" potatoes all froze — a real calamity.

Our well, a "digged" one, stone-lined, was just at the corner of the porch. The water was brought up by means of the "old oaken bucket" and a windlass. The well was only about fifteen or twenty feet deep, but afforded delicious cold water and was often made the "refrigerator" for the quick cooling of butter or milk, let down in a container by a strong cord.

The milk house, built of broad boards, about 8 feet by 10, practically joined the well. A water-tight trough ran the entire length and would hold about a dozen gallon crocks of milk. A short spout led from the well to this trough and fresh water was put into it at least three times a day and in warm weather several times. The trough was emptied by removing a wooden plug and the contents then ran into a large tub from which the team was watered. Any surplus was carried off into the garden.

A large vegetable garden, in which flowers also grew, lay north of the house. The cow-lot was west, and the stable (it wasn't worthy of the name of barn) was also west. The granary-corncrib and the wood-pile were south. East of the house was a row of majestic maples and near them a patch of rhubarb, both of the large and small stalk varieties. A little bed of calamus, used for a spring tonic, grew under the trees. Sometimes we youngsters would pull up a stalk and nibble on the root, possibly because mother warned us that it might make us ill and we wanted to see if it would, but we never ate very much because we were a bit afraid and because it tasted sour and puckery and anything but good. On a high limb of one of the maples father fixed a swing and up we often went — so high that the rope would slacken and for a second one couldn't be sure that the swing would regain its equilibrium. Under the shade of another maple father built a "playhouse" for me, of about the same size and construction as the milk-house. In the summer mother used it for her loom, but that did not in the least detract from my pleasure in it, since for dolls I cared nothing while I did like to play cooking, keeping house, and receiving visitors; mother was excellent at "playing like," so I had a variety of visitors.

Not far from the north end of the trees stood the lye hopper. It was a long trough-like box, two-sided, with V-shaped ends, open at the top, with

a small opening at one end at the point of the V. This box was set upon substantial forked stakes securely driven into the ground, and in the box were placed all the wood ashes from our stoves. Water enough to moisten them well was poured over them and replenished as needed. The liquid which was "drawn off" from these ashes, dripping from the opening at one end of the hopper into a container, was "lye" and was used in making our soap. One could tell when all the lye had been taken out, because when a little of the liquid was mixed with a small portion of grease, it would in a few minutes, if sufficiently strong, form a mixture resembling soft soap. When the liquid no longer produced this effect, the ashes were thrown away and another pile placed in the hopper.

A stream called interchangeably "run," "creek," and "branch," ran some forty rods northwest of the house. It had rather shallow sloping banks and at one point became a slough in which grew immense jimson and "iron" weeds. Near this slough my brothers used to play with a German boy from a neighboring farm whose mother seemed to be always calling to him in words which sounded to us like: "Newiddy, Newiddy, house gittin, house gittin, slangen in de slewin."⁶ At a respectable distance from the main-traveled road was the "old swimming hole," the swimmers in which were even more scantily clad than today's bathing beauties. In this stream my brothers caught rather small catfish, sunfish, and what we called "suckers," never over six or eight ounces in weight.

I was born in "grasshopper year" (1873), when in a day's time trees, shrubs, and bushes were laid bare and crops absolutely eaten into the ground. A year and a half later bad luck seemed still to be stalking us. Our hogs all died of cholera. Our team, Doc and Preacher, also died. Father had bought a plow and, in order to pay for it, had given a mortgage on our cow; the mortgage could not be paid off and was foreclosed. The family assets remaining were a farm of forty acres (unpaid for), three children (the oldest a boy of seven), some chickens — and a plow with no team to draw it; but my parents had no intention of returning to the status of renters. Our good neighbors bought us a team — Sam, a tall bay horse, and Fan, a short, thick, strawberry-roan mare. Father got the name of each contributor and the amount and eventually paid each one back.

⁶ The mother's exact words, whether in German or a mixture of German and English, are not clear from this attempt to reproduce them, but there is no doubt about her meaning. She wanted her son to come back and get into the house because there were snakes (Schlangen) in the slough (Schlauch).

By dint of extremely hard work and economy scarcely known today, Fortune was induced to show a more pleasant face. Stock began to accumulate; we acquired several cows and bought additional calves to be fed on extra milk. Mother occasionally took a calf in payment for weaving. These calves soon grew into money. We bought little pigs which grew into hogs and it wasn't long until we had our own meat as well as a nucleus for further increase. Fan gave us some fine colts. Always there were flocks of chickens and plenty of eggs for the table and for sale.

A break in the usual routine occurred when I was two and a half years' old. My mother's father was in his last illness and mother went back to Pennsylvania, taking me with her, while father and the boys "batched." Where the money came from is beyond me, unless it was sent from Pennsylvania. On the train I greatly embarrassed my mother by shouting time after time something I had heard my brothers reading from their school reader: "Fire, fire, the house is on fire! Get water to put out the fire!" My inferiority complex had not then developed. When we returned after a few weeks and father and the brothers met us at the station, Telford, looking at us closely and wonderingly, said, "You don't look at all like I thought you would. I thought you'd be an old grey-headed woman and Cassie a great big girl!"

Housekeeping in those days involved many more operations than it does today, and the methods were necessarily primitive. Coffee was bought in the unroasted bean and carefully browned in the oven. Each household had its own coffee grinder. We also used an extract of coffee which came in small can-shaped pasteboard containers. The extract was a rather hard bitter substance, and a piece about the size of a large pea was cut off and put in with each pot of the boiled coffee — to make it *taste* stronger at a lesser expense than the use of more coffee. I remember so well the four X's on the side of the container (XXXX). The first roasted coffee I can remember buying in sacks was Arbuckle's; this, too, was not ground.

Pepper never came ground and in containers but in the whole state, to be ground in the coffee mill. Allspice, cinnamon, and cloves also came unground, but these we never ground in the coffee mill but instead put them into little cloth sacks and boiled them along with whatever they were to flavor.

A small means of economy was the making of lamplighters by cutting newspapers into pieces about 3 by 6 inches and then folding these two or

three times. We would make several dozen of these at a sitting; matches cost a good deal more than they do now.

All laundry was done on the washboard. The tubs at our house were made from molasses or vinegar barrels sawed in two. They were heavy and unwieldy and without handles. Ironing was a hard, hot job. A cook stove was kept hot enough to make the irons sizzle; the irons were really iron throughout, handles and all. Thick pads had to be used to keep one's hands from being burned. Since the irons would retain heat for only a short while, much time was spent going to and fro from the stove to the table where the ironing was done. An ironing board was an unknown luxury. Two or three of the sheets in the washing would be folded twice and laid on the table and the ironing done on them; when the other clothes were ironed the sheets would be found to be ironed too.

Until mother bought her "Victor," not long before 1880, all our sewing was done by hand. Ready-made clothing of any kind was scarcely to be found in the stores, and only the rich or well-to-do could afford such as there was. My mother and I dressed very much alike in a dark calico, usually blue, with white dots or small figures. Our dresses consisted of a plain waist, with long sleeves and a high neck, sewed to a skirt of three widths of material, with no gores and gathered to fit the waist. There was usually a six or eight-inch ruffle at the bottom of mother's skirt, which came to within an inch or two of the floor. My own dress would be much shorter, but would nevertheless fall to about seven inches below the knees. The dresses were closed straight down the front of the waist and about seven inches into the skirt by means of buttons and buttonholes, about two inches apart. Mother wore black side-laced shoes about seven inches high, and cotton stockings. I owned shoes and stockings but on week days went barefoot most of the time up to the age of fourteen. Our sunbonnets were of blue and white gingham, with very small checks, and with a narrow ruffle all the way around; they were stiffened, not with "slats" (pasteboard strips) as was sometimes the case, but by being quilted on the sewing machine. Mother made suits for the men of the family from "homespun" cloth purchased in the stores, and underwear, if any, of cotton flannel. Their trousers were supported by knitted suspenders over "hickory" shirts; their heads were protected, during the summer, by straw hats; and their foot-gear was cotton socks and heavy boots, or brogans.

Grandfather Wiggins was a shoemaker as well as farmer and sometimes

sent us boots and shoes for men, women, and children, made with wooden pegs. The bootjack was an indispensable item in our household furnishings, as without its aid it was almost impossible for the men to pull their boots off, especially when they were wet. One of the great events in a boy's life was when at the age of five or six he came into possession of a pair of red-topped, copper-toed boots, which made him feel quite grown up. My oldest brother, on the evening of the day when he acquired his first pair of boots, refused to say his prayers, remarking, as he dismissed the idea with a shrug and a wave of his hand: "Too big now."

Butchering day came late in the fall, when we could be reasonably sure of a night cold enough to keep the meat fresh and easy to handle, but not freezing. We were all up earlier than usual. The big black kettle was filled to capacity with water and hung over a fire built as close to the big trees as was possible without scorching the foliage. The hog was stunned by a sharp blow over the head with the back of an axe, then stuck and allowed to bleed thoroughly. The carcass was then dragged on a large hand sled to the kettle and plunged into the water, which was now nearly boiling. Two or three bucketsful had previously been removed from the kettle and were used as needed. After scalding, the hog was scrapped with very sharp knives and then, by means of a rope tied to each hind leg, was drawn up to a convenient tree limb where it hung for "dressing" — removal of the entrails. It was then laid on a temporary table and as much of the extra fat as possible removed, to make into lard. The carcass was then dismembered, becoming hams, shoulders, side meat, backbones, ribs. The hams, shoulders, and sides were put into a barrel of brine until properly salted, when they were removed and smoked with hickory wood; we had no smoke house, so used a very large box instead.

The head was used for "wurst meat." The hog's head was well cleaned and then thoroughly boiled, as were also the heart and liver. Much of the fat on the head was removed and the meat, together with the heart and about half the liver, was run through the sausage grinder. The mixture was then thoroughly moistened with "stock," the liquid in which the head, heart, and liver had been boiled, and while still warm it was packed into a broad crock. After cooling, it was sealed from the air by having hot lard poured over it. It was prepared for the table by cutting slices about half an inch thick, rolling or dipping in flour, and frying. If this was carefully done, the slices would hold together, but the preparation was equally good

"scrambled." A similar preparation, known as "head cheese," included some cornmeal; other concoctions of a like nature were "souse" and "scrapple."⁷ They were very good and very greasy, particularly appetizing on pancakes and buckwheat cakes. A part of the other portions of the hog was ground up for sausage meat, well seasoned with salt and pepper, packed into jars, sealed with melted lard, and kept in a cold place.

The fat was rendered into lard, usually in the afternoon of butchering day, and once more the big black kettle, after strenuous cleaning, would be brought into use. Any fats not clean enough for lard were put aside for still another day, when the kettle would again be brought out for boiling soap from lye and from this and other refuse fat such as "cracklings" from lard rendering, and so forth. Every scrap of fat, such as bacon rinds, was saved and the grease "tried out" from it. This grease, together with lye and some water, was put to boil in the kettle and through long practice mother seemed able to tell when it was done. When it cooled it would thicken into a cake, which would then be cut into convenient pieces.

There were "apple butter" days, when the same kettle was used; the apples were peeled, cored, quartered—or cut into smaller pieces—and thoroughly boiled. Apple butter required long, slow, careful boiling and constant stirring—the "stirrer" being made by nailing a board about 3 by 18 inches to a handle some three feet long, at right angles, so that one could stir and yet not have to stand too uncomfortably close to the fire. After the apples had been thoroughly boiled, sugar or molasses or some of each was added.

There was little, if any, "canned goods" bought before the '80's. Mother "put up" tomatoes in tin cans, using sealing wax to close the containers; "Mason" jars were used for fruits.

Apples and corn were dried—the apples peeled, cored, quartered, and

⁷ My former student, Miss Elizabeth Keely, obtained for me from her mother the following recipes:

Souse: Scrub and salt four pig's feet. Boil till soft and cut into small pieces. Make a mixture of cider-vinegar, salt and pepper, and a little sugar, and heat this seasoning to the boiling point. Add meat, and cook to a jelly. Put in moulds and keep in a cold place.

Scrapple: Boil meat until flesh falls from bones, cooking part of the liver with the meat. Scrape bones clean and grind up meat and liver. Put the ground meat back into the broth and add one part of corn meal and four parts of buckwheat flour. Season to taste and cook slowly, stirring constantly till the proper consistency is attained. Put in bowls; when cool pour melted lard over it in a thin layer, and keep in a cold place.

covered with "mosquito bar" (cotton screening) to keep flies off; the corn was cut from the cob. Both were spread out in the sunshine or, if the sun failed to appear, put into the oven with a slow fire and carefully watched. I don't recall that we actually had any particular dislike for dried-apple pies, but we did repeat this verse, perhaps just to hear our own voices:

I hate, abhor, detest, despise,
Abominate dried-apple pies;
Tread on my toes and tell me lies,
But don't give me dried-apple pies.

Gallons of milk were taken care of each day, and about every other day there was churning to do with the old-style wooden churn and dasher — the churn being a tall vessel of hoops and staves, smaller at the top than at the bottom and capable of holding five or six gallons. The churn and dasher and the process of churning are well described in the now almost forgotten farm riddle:

Big at the bottom, little at the top,
And the thing in the middle goes flipperty-flop.⁸

After churning there was a great pile of butter to be dressed into rolls or pound prints. Mother always decorated the rolls with some sort of design, and the pound prints carried in the center the impress of a large leaf and other decorations around the edge. I still have that wooden butter-print. I particularly liked to watch mother "dress" the butter, for part of it was mine, since I had by this time come into the ownership of a cow, Whiteface, which when we left the farm was sold for a twenty-dollar gold piece.

Then there were baking days, possibly twice a week, when about six loaves of bread and a pan of rolls was the usual output. Mother made her own yeast cakes. She raised hops, which would be hung up in a sack to cure. An infusion of hop water, potato water, and corn meal would then be made into rolls, sliced, and dried on the kitchen roof in the sun. Besides white bread, mother often provided platters of fried mush, stacks of buck-wheat cakes, and pans of corn bread (pones, we called them). Served with each and all was good sorghum molasses.

Despite the fact that mother could accomplish more without my "aid," she often let me help to make pies, cookies, and cake. She would make several pies at a time and on my earliest attempt at helping I tried to roll the entire batch of pie dough at once and was soon embarrassed for space

⁸ See *Journal of American Folklore*, 31:67 (Ontario); 47:88 (the Ozarks).

on the table. Mother came at my call and showed me that I must take only enough dough at a time for one crust. She also let me roll and cut cookies; to be permitted to frost a cake was a real responsibility. When I was too small to wash dishes without the aid of a box to stand on, that work was a delight, but as soon as I was of a more suitable age and size the enthusiasm vanished and has never been regained — although I do still like to cook.

Farming was highly diversified. Except for coffee, sugar, and salt, most of our food was raised on our own farm. Wheat, buckwheat, corn, and sugar cane were taken to the mill and converted into flour, meal, or sorghum, on shares. The hogs provided meat and lard; the chickens, eggs; the cows, milk and butter. We raised our own potatoes, cabbages, and turnips, which were either put into the cellar or “holed in” the ground. A pit would be dug to below the freezing point and lined with hay or straw; then the vegetables would be put in and covered with straw; boards were then laid across the top, and dirt heaped over and around it all.

Farms were not very large in those days. We had a forty of our own and a rented forty adjoining. After the ground was plowed and harrowed, such seed as wheat, oats, and barley was sowed “broadcast” by hand. The grain was carried in a sack swung over the shoulder by a rope or strap and handful by handful the seed was sown. After sowing, the field was harrowed again. Before 1880 the harrows were of wood, with square iron teeth inserted into the wooden cross beams or bars. Corn, on the other hand, was planted by means of a machine and in “check rows”; that is, in such a manner that it could be cultivated in any direction across the field, north and south, east and west, or diagonally. This made it much easier to keep the weeds down and the soil soft and well-worked. In order to use the corn planter, the “ground was marked off with cross markers and each time [the] ‘planter’ crossed one . . . , the *kid* on the planter pulled the lever that caused the corn to drop. . . . The steel or iron runner went into the ground and made the ‘ditch furrow’ for the corn to drop into; the dirt fell back into the ditch furrow and covered the corn.” Two persons were required to do the work — a man to drive the team and a boy to pull the lever at proper intervals, releasing the corn from the box in which it was contained. Before the days of the “check rower,” a two-row corn planter was used. A rag was tied to one of the spokes of the corn planter and every time the “rag spoke” came around the boy who sat on the planter would jerk a lever which dropped two to four grains of corn in a “hill.”

Grain was cut in various ways. A mowing machine followed by a one-horse rake was sometimes used. The grain was then bound by hand with a band of twisted straw. Later came the binder. In either case the sheaves were piled into a high cylindrical stack capable of shedding rain. Oats were often "cradled" — a cradle being much like a scythe, with the addition of curved wooden bows above the knife by means of which the grain would be laid in very straight windrows. The handling of a cradle required a great knack.

A threshing machine, the power for which was furnished by four teams of horses hitched to a beam, was used to separate the grain of wheat, oats, and barley. In the center was a platform, two-and-a-half or three feet in diameter, where the driver, usually a boy, stood and cracked his whip; my brother Sam served as driver when only nine or ten years old. Corn that was to be made into meal was shelled by hand on a scoop shovel or spade placed across a tub. Any discolored or unsound grains were removed. Father threshed the buckwheat with a flail.

The sugar cane was first "topped" and "stripped," that is, the seed head and leaves were cut off, and then the stalks themselves were cut down and taken to the sorghum mill. There were two varieties of cane: a thick heavy type, which produced black molasses, and a thin slender kind from which light-colored syrup was made.

My brothers learned to do farm work while quite young, and the "chores" always fell to them. They had each one's work listed on a piece of paper posted up beside the kitchen door — tending the team, bringing in wood, feeding the hogs, cows, and calves. The unique feature of their plan was the division of labor in milking. At one time we were milking only three cows: Reddy, an easy milker; Elrick, a brindle, very hard to milk; and Whitey, who had a hole in one teat. It was finally agreed that the older brother should milk Elrick and Whitey's leaky teat and the younger, Reddy and the remaining three teats of Whitey!

My brothers also worked for neighbors, herding sheep at twenty-five cents a day. At first the older brother, David Lincoln, hired the younger brother to keep him company, and paid him part of the twenty-five cents, but later Samuel herded on his own behalf. It was here my older brother got his start financially. He also sold books: *Grant Around the World* and later, after we had moved to town, *The Life of James A. Garfield*, riding around the country on old Fan.

My brothers were not averse to helping my parents in my upbringing. They still like to remind me of the time they gave me a whipping. Father and mother had gone to town and were late in getting home, and I, who was about five, began to fuss and whimper, much to the disgust of my brothers, who decided it was time there and then to cure me of being a "cry baby," so they got a switch and one held me while the other did the whipping. Only my feelings were injured, and I was too ashamed of myself to "tell" on my brothers. Aside from occasions when they took my training in hand, they were quite my ideals and I tried to do everything they did, even to standing on my head.

I think that I should have been born an Indian, for I did so love to be out of doors and I did so dislike everything in the house, save cooking. I was ever eager, with or without an excuse, to go to the field where my father was, and if I was there when it was time to come to dinner or supper I was sure of a ride on old Fan. One day mother said: "Now as soon as you have set the table, you can go to the field." I pulled the table into place, spread the cover, told my conscience I had "set" the table — and away I ran. When I reached the field, father was several rods from the end where I was entering, and I was dashing madly to get to him when to my horror an immense snake, measured no doubt by my imagination, passed right in front of me. I screamed, and father came, but whether he killed the snake or not I don't recall. I do remember, however, the instant thought: "Oh, the snake will bite me, and that will be my punishment for lying and running away from my work!" The thought of how I had been delivered in spite of my sin had a sobering effect on me for a whole day or two. My conscience has on several occasions been very troublesome and hard to live with, but I have never desired to dispense with it entirely or permanently.

I was at times a very persistent and headstrong child. Once when my older brother was herding cattle on a neighbor's pony, I was with him and wanted to ride. He said: "No, it isn't safe." "But," I argued, "you let me ride and you hold the reins," and so he was persuaded. The next step, of course, was: "Let me guide him just a little way, myself," and again, I won him over. But no sooner did I get the bridle reins in my hands than I gave the horse a dig with my heels and away he went, I holding on to the saddle horn for dear life. All might have been well, but the saddle turned and I found myself riding well down over the side of the horse, like an Indian but with less grace and assurance. Just as I was again deciding that I had

sinned and was being punished, the horse, for no reason at all, stopped. Again I was a humble and contrite child — for a time.

On another occasion I was punished for being a “Meddlesome Mattie” — from a poem of that title about a little girl who, visiting her grandmother, spied in the latter’s absence her snuff box, which she opened, getting the snuff into her eyes and nose:

Poor eyes and nose and mouth and chin
A dismal sight presented,
And as the snuff got further in
Sincerely she repented.

In my case the temptation came from a stick of caustic, used by my father to treat his boils. A brand-new unused piece was in the clock and looked to me — I was only about six — like a fine piece of stick-candy, so I started to take a bite. It had no sooner touched my tongue than I was racing for the granary, where I jumped into one of the bins, and, with tears running down my face but making no outcry, I writhed and twisted and rocked to and fro till the burning became endurable.

We had two dogs — Watch, a cute, black, curly-haired nuisance, remembered only because he utterly destroyed the home-made upholstering on the “lazy back” of the seat of our spring wagon, and Shep, the faithful, beloved by all. He was a short-haired, light-and-dark-brown dog, of medium size and of no particular breed. He seemed to have a great deal of understanding. Once, as father was bringing home a great load of wood — it was in the winter, after dark, and growing stormy — the big sled upset. Father said that Shep sat down and cried as though he were human. We always felt that Shep saved my older brother’s life. We children had gone to the field to bring in a load of oats in the sheaf. A shock or two had been loaded and on coming to another my brother was reaching for a bundle when a rattlesnake’s warning whirred! In a flash Shep seized the reptile but not before it had stuck its fangs deep into the poor dog’s mouth. As soon as the snake was dead, Shep hurried to the creek where he buried his wound in the mud and there he stayed for over a day. When the swelling had been reduced and he was able to come to the house we lavished love and care on him, but he never fully recovered and in a few days began to have fits, so that it was not safe to have him around. One day father took him to the timber with him as usual, but he never came back. Father never said what had become of him and we did not ask, for we knew too well.

Ten or a dozen families lived near enough to be called neighbors and nearly all were fine upstanding folks, but of course it is the odd ones who stand out in my memory. There was the woman who was converted at a revival meeting held in the Wolf schoolhouse and who thereafter began reading her Bible with astonishing results; she was indeed a literalist, for she confided to mother that she wasn't going to drink milk any more since the Bible said that only children should drink milk and that grown folks should eat strong meat. Another woman, when accused of spreading gossip, far from denying it, declared: "I said it, and I said it, and I don't deny it, and by the Holy Moses, it's true!" That came to be a by-word in our family when we wished to be facetiously emphatic. At revival meetings testimonies were often the same, time after time, and this woman's was: "I've been through the fiery furnace seven times and have come out without the smell of fire on my garments."

Then there were the Kluggys whose house we had to pass on the way to the Elrick school. The father had beaten his little girl to death because she didn't know all her ABC's after only one day in school. When arrested, he told the officers that he had whipped her "a little" and that she had then crept under the bed, and that he thereupon took a stick and hit her a few times and she just died. He was sent to the penitentiary where he lost his mind and in the asylum would sit and look dully about muttering "Neta, little Neta." We didn't fool along on the way from school until after passing *that* house.

I must have acquired the "coffee habit" from the food of my early infancy, for frequently, after our own early breakfast, I would — without permission — hasten to the home of a neighbor, arriving in time for *their* breakfast. They always poured a deep saucerful of coffee for me and placed it very near the edge of the table where, standing, I could just reach it, and drink with satisfying noises. In this family were two boys, Frankie and Johnny, one of whom once gave me a candy heart with the legend, "To my turtle dove." I haven't heard the last of that yet.

We had the choice of attending either of two schools, each within a mile and a half of our home. One was the Wolf school, about a mile west, and the other the Elrick school, a mile and a half northeast. I can remember attending the Wolf school only one term. It was there I began my education, at four years of age. I learned my ABC's, and began to learn to spell by the A, b, ab, a, d, ad method, going on to three-letter combina-

tions. I can still recall the fearful disorder in that school; it was "confusion worse confounded." Some of the larger boys were utterly unmanageable.

I recall only one teacher at the Elrick school and I didn't like him for this reason: I was in a reading class by myself and the story was about a hen and chickens drinking out of a pan, a picture of which was in the book. I began, slowly and hesitatingly, both because I wasn't sure of the words, and, in part, because I knew if I did make a mistake I'd be laughed at. "Do — you — see — the —," I began. Then I stopped. *Chickens* were in the picture, but f-o-w-l-s didn't spell "chickens." I looked to the teacher for help. "Fools," said he. "... *fools* — drinking — out — of — the — pan," I concluded. "Ha, ha, ha!" loudly laughed both teacher and pupils, and I went to my seat in tears of rage and mortification. The incident probably seems very trivial, but it is indelibly stamped on my mind. I can see the teacher by his desk, the backward little girl with her tan-colored Wilson's Second Reader, the room full of grinning pupils — even the bucket of water with the dipper standing in the corner of the room. That was one of two or three times in my life when I felt utterly consumed with rage.

The older pupils, however, liked this teacher and there was no question of "order." He had a custom of putting to us such questions as: "Who laid the Atlantic Cable? Who invented the sewing machine? Who invented the telegraph?" etc., to be answered in concert. When anyone was tardy, every pupil had orders instantly to lay aside everything and shout at the late comer: "Habit is a cable; we weave a thread of it each day until it becomes so strong we cannot break it." One morning my brothers and I were late, and again I was covered with shame, but my brothers paid little or no attention to the "greeting."

This salutation to the tardy reminds me of a few lines from the rules which were recited in concert each morning when my mother went to school in Pennsylvania:

All scholars are to be in school
At half-past eight o'clock,
And be prepared to take their seats
To sit without much talk. . . .
No changing of the seats
Will be permitted in this school,
No running 'round or making noise
To violate the rules. . . .
If anyone shall not regard

In all respects these rules,
He shall be whipped, or punished well,
Or banished from the school.

One of the teachers at the Elrick school was my mother's sister, Margaret McCollum (Aunt Mag) who stayed with us. One day when my brother Sam was at the blackboard he drew a picture of a horse which was obviously engaged in contributing to the fertility of the soil on which it stood. Our aunt saw this picture before we could erase it and punished him — I forget how. On the way home from school that evening he was talking loudly and in uncomplimentary terms about the teacher, whereupon some of the little girls, who were inclined to be tale-bearers, declared, "We'll tell her!" He replied, recklessly and rather coarsely, in what was probably a common formula:

Tell her and tell her
And kick her down the cellar
And pick 'er up and smell 'er,
And she'll be as good as ever!

In the summer my brothers would have to stay at home and work. Mother never let me go to school alone, but would go with me "across country" until we reached the top of a hill from which she could see me until I entered the schoolhouse. This would be during what was called the "summer school." Many strawberries grew on the prairies and mother would take with her two buckets, each holding about two gallons, and would bring them home full of berries, most of which would be canned.

No singing was done in the schools at this time. Before school and at recess we played such games as black-man, drop-the-handkerchief, poison, froggie-in-the-meadow, London Bridge, and crack-the-whip. These games were played as follows:

Black-man — One or sometimes two would be chosen, or volunteer, to be "It." There were two bases and all save "It" lined up on one, while "It" stood about two-thirds of the distance from the opposite base. At "It's" call of "One, two, three, here I come," the other players endeavored to reach the opposite base without being caught and slapped three times on the back. Anyone who was caught joined those already "It" and so on till all were caught. The game became quite exciting when all but two or three had been caught and finally all joined in the attempt to catch the last survivor.

Poison — Join hands, forming a circle. In the middle, place a stick, stone, or other object. This is "poison." The players pull, twist, turn, jerk — anything to get some one to touch "poison." When they finally succeed, they quickly break holds and squat down before the person who touched "poison," and who now is "poison," can touch one of them. The squatters must keep the game going by one or another or several rising to their feet, thus daring "poison" to touch them before they can squat. Should "poison" succeed in touching one, *he* becomes "poison" and so the game proceeds.

Crack-the-whip — The larger, stronger players take their places at the end of a line, then the medium-sized, and finally the smaller. All join hands and run forward for, say, thirty feet or so — but just as far as the larger ones wish. Without any warning to the others, those at the head of the line suddenly stop and pull with all their strength; those on the other end of the "whip" are pulled off their feet and fall hither and thither. They should get hurt, but seldom do.

Blind-man, or Blind-man's Buff — Some one is blindfolded and tries to catch any one he can and tell who it is by feeling his features, asking questions to get him to laugh, etc. The players are supposed to touch the blind-man while he is pursuing them, to give him a chance to catch them, and must return again and again, to keep the game going, until he has caught and identified some one, who then becomes the blind-man.

Froggie-in-the-meadow — Some one is chosen, or volunteers, to be "froggie." The other players join hands, forming a circle, and "froggie" tries to escape from it. If he succeeds, the one judged responsible for his escape becomes "froggie." As the players circle around "froggie," they sing:

Froggie's in the meadow
And can't get out;
Take a little stick
And stir him all about.

London Bridge — a ring is formed by joining hands and the players circle about, passing under a "Bridge" formed by two players joining hands, held high. As the players circle, they sing:

London bridge is falling down,
Falling down, falling down,
London bridge is falling down,
My fair lady.

Whoever is under the "bridge" as the last word is sung is caught by the

"bridge" descending, and he, or she, then stands aside. So the game continues until several have been caught, but not too many, for this is only part of the game; the second part is the paying of forfeits by those who have been caught.

Drop-the-handkerchief — The players first form a circle by joining hands and then letting go. One chosen, or volunteering, to be "It," takes a handkerchief and runs around the outside of the ring, dropping the handkerchief behind anyone he chooses; that one is supposed to discover the handkerchief and try to catch the one who dropped it before "It" can reach the spot where the handkerchief was dropped. If "It" outruns him, the person behind whom the handkerchief was dropped becomes "It." Sometimes the one behind whom the handkerchief is dropped is so engrossed that he fails to look behind him and "It" will be able to make the circle, pick up the handkerchief, and touch the careless one with it, whereupon the latter, of course, becomes "It."

Sometimes we would form a circle and march around and around singing:

Green gravel, green gravel,
The grass is so green.
Free mason, free mason,
'Tis a shame to be seen.

I didn't then see, and have not yet seen, any sense in the rhyme; I had not at the time even heard of the Ancient Order of Free and Accepted Masons and consequently it was not on my part a manifestation of anti-Masonic feeling.⁹

Friday afternoons there would be ciphering matches, spelling down, and speaking "pieces," which might be repeated *without* request. One of my favorites began:

I love to go to Sabbath school
But not to church upstairs;
The sermons are so very long,
So very long the prayers.

I remember the younger of my two brothers "speaking" this one:

I wish I were an editor,
I really do indeed;

⁹ The third and fourth lines of this rhyme, in the form, "And all the free masons Are ashamed to be seen," has been interpreted as a corruption of "And all the free maidens Are arrayed to be seen." William Wells Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children* (New York, 1903), 71.

It seems to me that editors
Get everything they need.
They get the finest and the best
Of everything that grows;
They get in free to circuses
And other kinds of shows.¹⁰

There was a silly jumble of contrary statements and impossible situations which we children delighted to repeat, slowly and as impressively as possible: "Last night, yesterday morning, just before breakfast, a hungry boy bought a custard for a levy, threw it through a brick wall nine feet thick, jumped over and broke his right ankle off above his left knee, fell into a dry millpond and was drowned. About forty years after that, on the same day, he was found in a frying pan with an old cat and nine turkey gobblers, where a deaf and dumb man was talking to his Aunt Peter."

It was while living on the Iowa forty that we heard of Mother Shipton's prophecy, which foretold that the end of the world was near at hand. I recall only a few lines:

Iron on the water shall float
As easy as a wooden boat. . . .
Carriages without horses shall go
And all the world be filled with woe. . . .
This world unto an end shall come
In eighteen hundred and eighty-one.¹¹

We children had a strict upbringing and careful training in the Scriptures. The question of whether or not we would go to Sabbath School and church was never raised. Visitors on the Sabbath were unheard of. To avoid unnecessary work on Sunday every possible task was done on Saturday. Boots and shoes were anointed with neat's foot oil and blackened with a mixture of stove-soot and lard (there was no polish); the coffee was ground; every button was in its proper place; and not a stitch of repair needed in any

¹⁰ Josephus Daniels, in his autobiography, *Tar Heel Editor* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1939), 75-6, mentions that at about the age of twelve—that is, about 1874—he recited the above verses at his mother's request to Colonel Singletary, editor of the *Wilson Plain-Dealer*, who, "smiling sadly, said that it wasn't true that 'editors get everything they need,' even if they did 'get in free to circuses and other kinds of shows,' which they did not need."

¹¹ "Mother Shipton's Prophecy" appeared in a red-backed reader used in the public grade school of Sterling, Kansas, about the time of World War I, when aviation was a new idea. We were particularly impressed by the lines: "In the air men shall be seen In black, in white, in green."

garment. Any extra baking was done on Saturday; no cakes, pies, biscuits, or even pancakes were baked on the Sabbath. No whistling or singing anything except the Psalms was permitted. We were up earlier than usual to do the chores, change our clothes, and drive five and a half miles in a lumber (later a spring) wagon.

I was baptized in the United Presbyterian church in Clarinda, the minister of which was an excellent pastor but not a very good preacher. He could, however, express himself clearly and forcefully on occasion. Some one started the tale that he had said he believed there were "infants in hell not a span long."¹² The next Sabbath after he heard this report he referred to it from the pulpit and recommended that any one who had spread such a story should "Go home and read that passage of Scripture which says 'All liars shall be cast into the lake which burns with fire and brimstone.'"

Truly I "liked the Sabbath School, but not the church." If there was anything I really enjoyed it was to sing, and the louder the better. "Hallelujah, Praise Jehovah," was my favorite. I can see and hear myself sitting on the front row in "closing exercises" shouting that song. How I swelled with pride when the superintendent said: "This little girl with the long curls is singing more than all of you." This may have been a doubtful compliment, but I really considered myself the "chief and sweet singer" — no "complex" here. The one fly in the ointment was the reference to my curls, for how I did hate them! It seemed to me that everyone made it a point to speak of my b-e-a-u-t-i-f-u-l curls and to give them a little pat or twist — merely, I felt to annoy me.

The class work in Sabbath School consisted of repeating Bible verses and reciting the Children's Catechism, which contained such questions and answers as: "Who made you? God. Who redeemed you? Christ. Who sanctifies you? The Holy Ghost. Of what were you made? Of dust. What doth that teach you? To be humble and mindful of death. Who was the first man? Adam. Who was the first woman? Eve. Who was the first murderer? Cain. Who was the first martyr? Abel. Who wrestled with the angel of God? Jacob. Who led Israel into Canaan? Joshua. Who was the meekest man? Moses. Who was the strongest man? Sampson. Who was the wisest man? Solomon. Who were struck dead for lying? Ananias and Sapphira. Who died to redeem mankind? Jesus Christ. Who is Jesus Christ? The Son of God. Who was the mother of Christ? Mary. Who

¹² A belief often ascribed to Calvinists because of the doctrine of predestination.

was the beloved disciple? John. Who denied Christ? Peter. Who betrayed Christ? Judas." And so on.

Sabbath School began at 10 A. M. and at 11 o'clock came the preaching service, which lasted until noon. Then there was an hour's intermission for lunch, which we had brought with us and which was eaten in or beside the wagon. This was also the visiting hour — when even an elder might say to another: "Well now, Bill, if this was Monday and I wanted your bay, how much boot would you give me on my gray mare?" Then came another sermon, *not* a "sermonette," and then home. Necessary chores done and dinner over, came the memorizing of Bible verses and the Catechism. After some studying, the verses were repeated and the catechism questions asked and answered, or attempted. I knew the Children's Catechism fairly well, but the Shorter Catechism, which my brothers were learning, was a bit beyond me and by the time we had reached "What are the decrees of God?" I was more than ready to go water the chickens. Later, however, I learned the entire 107, *verbatim et literatim* if not *et punctuatim*. Sometimes mother read to us out of *From Egypt to Canaan*, one of the two theological books in our meager library of which I remember the names; the other, from which she never read was *Alarm to the Unconverted*.¹³

The "blessings" at meals and family worship morning and evening were never omitted. I am thankful to my parents for my strict upbringing; it has a tendency to stiffen one's moral backbone.

There was considerable illness in the family, only the younger of my brothers and myself escaping. One summer mother and the older brother had ague, a malarial fever which attacked them every other day. It would begin with a chill, during which the patient would shake until his teeth and the very bed would rattle, despite the many covers (including feather beds), and the hot irons at the feet. Then would come the change from cold to heat and the victim would burn with fever. Quinine in quantities was the medicine used. During one winter mother suffered from a felon on the second finger of her right hand. Her arm swelled fearfully, clear to the shoulder, and it is a wonder she did not lose it. Slippery-elm

¹³ By Joseph Alleine (1634-1668), a Puritan minister who was ejected from his living at Taunton and again and again thrown into prison for violating the Five Mile and Conventicle Acts. "No puritan name save Richard Baxter's is so affectionately cherished by the English-speaking people of God as Joseph Alleine's. . . . 20,000 copies of his 'Alarm . . .' were sold . . . in 1672, and 50,000 three years later. . . . It has . . . been frequently reprinted in England and America." *Dictionary of National Biography*.

poultices were the remedy employed. The bark peeled easily off the branches; then the outer, dark bark was removed and the remainder beaten with a hammer until it was reduced to a soft mass. This was mixed with a little water and some of it placed on a cloth and bound to the affected member. Mother finally recovered, but the affected finger and the one on either side were left stiff, the first joint of the little finger being drawn to a right angle.

Father had never enjoyed good health since the Civil War, and I well remember when his illness became acute. We were having threshers that day and the crew was seated at the table, which was extended by boards (there were no extension table in those days, at least not at our house). The meal was about half over and father was talking. Suddenly he began to repeat the last word he had uttered and kept lifting his cup from the saucer and replacing it again. His voice changed from its natural tone to a rather high pitch with a decided nasal twang. This attack was followed by a long illness and from that time on, for several years, he was unable to do the hard work necessary on a farm.¹⁴

My brothers at this time were aged ten and twelve and could not, of course, carry on the work, so about a year later we sold the farm and most of the stock and moved to the little town of Coin, where father got a job driving a meat wagon for a butcher shop to several surrounding towns, using his own horses. Here we lived for five years, until 1885, when we made another move — this time to northwest Kansas where father had taken a claim.

¹⁴ An obituary of James W Wiggins, published seven years later, referred to this attack as the result of a sun stroke, but it was probably an apoplectic stroke, similar to the one to which he eventually succumbed. Unidentified newspaper clipping, Scrap Book of D. L. Wiggins.

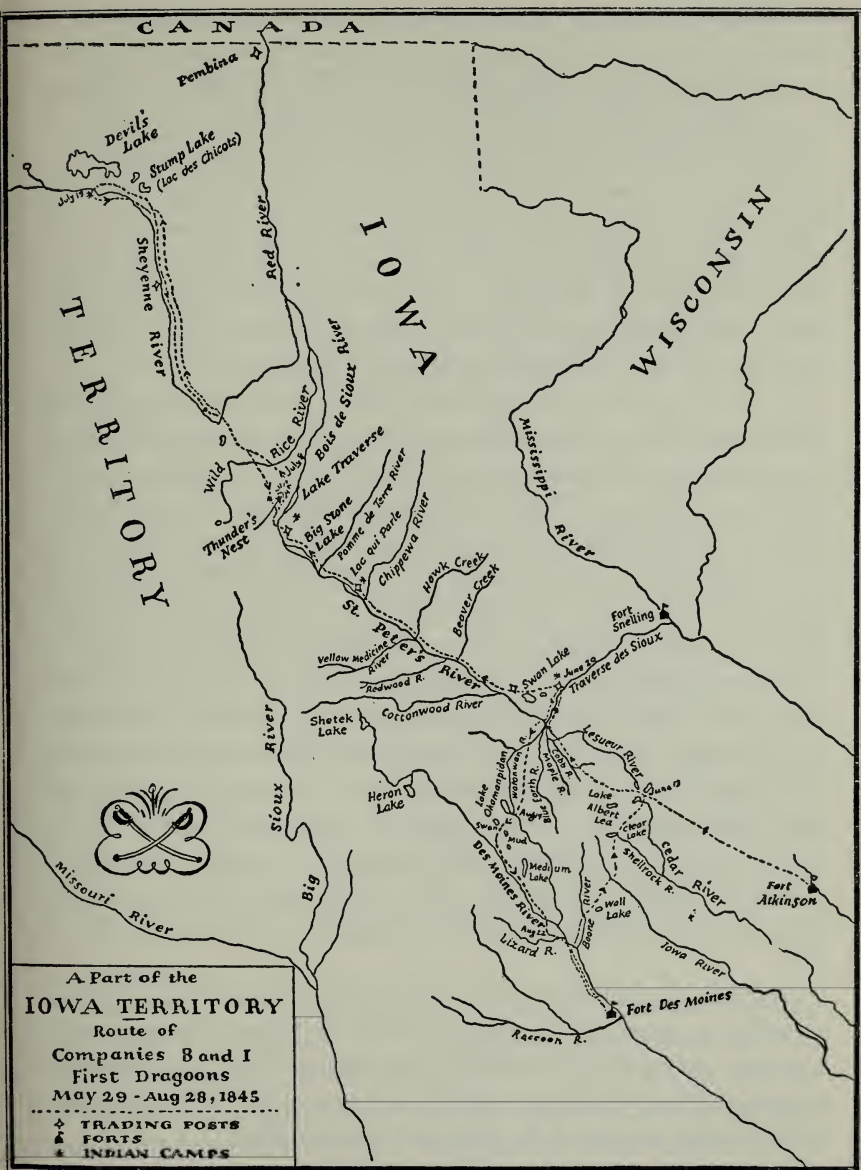
DOCUMENTS

THE DRAGOONS IN THE IOWA TERRITORY, 1845

Edited by Robert Rutland

Captain James Allen hurried to finish all of the official duties he was required to perform as commander of Company I, First Dragoons, before his troops left Fort Des Moines for a summer expedition to the Sioux country. His orders from the army departmental headquarters at St. Louis, dated May 7, 1845, were plain. Company I would ride north to join another company of the First Dragoons near the headwaters of the Blue Earth River, then proceed northward in the Iowa Territory to Devil's Lake, via Traverse des Sioux. Reasonably sure that the heavy spring rains of recent weeks would cause rough going for the company on the march, Captain Allen could permit no further delay of his command. Early on May 29 the dragoons heard "boots and saddles" sounded by the bugler and soon filed northward from Fort Des Moines on the first leg of a journey that took the company through some 1,200 miles of the Iowa Territory — much of it in the Sioux country where the blue-mantled United States dragoon was not always accorded a cordial welcome. This expedition, and the ones which preceded it, fitted into a larger pattern of events, all of them made necessary because the Indian could not understand the white man's "boundary line."

Boundary lines had a distinctly unhappy effect on those Indians who roamed the plains and the prairies in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the first place, the Indian was unable to comprehend the significance of an imaginary line which somehow had the backing of dragoons and their carbines. Furthermore, the Indian could never see the justice in a situation which denied his tribe the right to carry on certain traditions simply because one set of white men claimed ownership to the land, and another group recognized that claim. To the Indian, the land was the gift of the Great Spirit to all people. The right to hunt on land was a "natural right," which could be usurped only by greedy, well-armed Indian bands whose own claims were in turn ephemeral. Without hunting land the Indian faced starvation and extinction.



No map of the 1845 dragoon expedition to Devil's Lake has been discovered. This map is based on the unknown dragoon's journal. The expedition traveled on the right bank of the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River both going and coming. The route used by Co. B in returning to Fort Atkinson is not known.

The United States government was sufficiently aware of the Indian's reluctance to part with his land. Long before the Republic was born, white men had been cajoling, bargaining with, and killing the Indian in an attempt to win over the red man's nebulous title to the land. A certain sense of "justice," brought over from Europe where land titles were the surest avenue of security, seemed to demand an outward show of legality in these Indian relations. Ever westward the Indian was crowded, accepting gifts and annuities in return for treaties of cession, until the statute books were full of these solemn obligations. The courts are still trying to untangle snarls which were hatched between men who not only spoke dissimilar languages, but also thought in a completely dissimilar way.

By 1845 the methods adopted by the United States in dealing with her Indian wards had hardened into a familiar pattern. But the incursions of the Canadian Indians across the northern boundary line established in 1818 posed new problems. These Red River "half-breeds," or Metis (mixed breeds) as they called themselves, were subjects of Queen Victoria. Still they assumed that their old custom of going to the Pembina country for buffalo hunts was a private affair — between themselves and the buffalo. By 1842 the Sioux agent in the Iowa Territory registered repeated complaints over these incursions. From his agency on the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River, Agent Amos J. Bruce declared that unless the United States government made an "immediate interposition" in the affair, armed conflict between the Sioux and the Metis was imminent.¹ In answer to this call and other similar complaints Captain Edwin V. Sumner led Company B, First Dragoons, from Fort Atkinson to the Sioux country in the summer of 1844. A second, reinforced expedition under Sumner's command was deemed necessary for the following year after Agent Bruce continued his admonitions.

The Metis expeditions into the Iowa Territory had long been carried on, according to Joseph N. Nicollet, by "the best hunters, the most expert horsemen, and the bravest warriors of the prairies." This tireless surveyor-cartographer had visited the Devil's Lake country in 1839 and gained a fairly accurate account of the Metis and their activities.

They are called Metis, or half-breeds, being descendants of Canadians, English, and Scotch, crossed with Chippeways, Kristinaux, Assiniboins, Sioux, &c., &c. . . . It is their usage to come twice a

¹ *Senate Document*, No. 1, 27 Cong., 3 Sess. (1842-1843), 430.

year upon the territory of the United States where the buffalo abounds: each family has its cart or wagon drawn by oxen; each hunter has his horse, which is remarkably fleet. They are accompanied by missionaries, who regulate both their temporal and spiritual concerns. Their first campaign is made at the setting in of summer; their second in the fall of the year; and they remain about two months.²

From the expeditions the Metis gained buffalo hides and meat. There were numerous personal needs which the buffalo skins filled, while the surplus hides were sold to the Hudson's Bay Company. The meat, or most of it, was made into pemmican by the Metis women who could lay in a year's supply from the summer hunt shares, which were carefully portioned to each family.

Captain Sumner warned the Metis that their hunting treks into the Iowa Territory must end. He suggested that they petition the federal government for permission to continue the hunts for a few years longer, until a satisfactory solution to their problem was reached. The Sioux agent, Bruce, considered Sumner's proposal as contrary to the interests of his charges and interpreted it as an attempt to help the Metis establish a claim to the Pembina region. With the admission of Iowa into the Union in 1846, the area passed to the jurisdiction of the Minnesota Territory. Superintendent Alexander Ramsey of the Minnesota Indian Agency declared in his 1849 report that the Metis were still crossing the border to hunt buffalo. Ramsey appreciated their dilemma and believed they could be induced to remove to American soil and become good citizens, thus converting an international difficulty into a domestic problem. Harassed by other American officials and confronted with the enmity of the full-blooded Indians, the Metis gradually abandoned their hunting trips south of Pembina and turned to other pursuits.

In addition to handling this delicate bit of frontier diplomacy, Companies B and I of the First Dragoons were ordered from Fort Atkinson and Fort Des Moines to impress the restless elements of the Sioux tribe with the armed might of the United States. Scattered rumors of murder and theft discouraged settlement in the areas adjoining the Sioux country, in the

² Joseph N. Nicollet, *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River* (Washington, 1843), 49. This is a reprint of *Senate Document*, No. 237, 26 Cong., 2 Sess. (1840-1841). A recent history of the Metis which is sympathetic to their dilemma is Joseph Kinsey Howard, *Strange Empire* (New York, 1952).

present western Minnesota. A reassuring report from the expedition's commanding officer would doubtless have contributed toward the increased immigration which was soon to overwhelm the Indian.³

Among the Company I dragoons from Fort Des Moines was the unidentified journal-keeper, presumably a non-commissioned officer, who had chronicled the 1844 march under Captain Allen's command, published in the *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:57-78 (January, 1953). His detailed account of the 1845 journey, published here for the first time, considerably enlarges the official report of Captain Sumner, which is printed in *House Executive Documents*, No. 2, 29 Cong., 1 Sess. (1845-1846), 217-20. Sumner's report, edited by Jacob Van der Zee, is reprinted in the *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 11:259-66 (April, 1913), and is hereafter cited as "Sumner's Report."

A Journal of March For the Year 1845.

May 29th 1845

This day we left Fort Des Moines I. T. — The Command consists of Co. I. 1st Regt. U. S. Dragoons, Capt. Allen Commanding Dr S. Griffin, Lt. Grier, Lt. Noble, and Messrs. Hunt of St. Louis, and Tyndal of Philadelphia⁴ the Capt. Remained at the Post to get through with some business — we expect him up to night — nothing happened to day except breaking the hospital Waggon this I suppose will be a common misfortune so we will say nothing about it.

May 30th

Left camp remarkably early, got into difficulty before we marched half a mile from camp. the prairie has been bad all day. we broke one waggon tongue no Incident worthy of notice. the Dr has been sick all day. rain this evening. Caswell reports the Doctors horse named deputy trader, lame.

May 31st

Left camp about 6½ A. M. marched steadily and rapidly till 3 P.M. with only one stoppage of half an hour. distance 28 or 30 miles. en-

³ Capt. Edwin V. Sumner was born in 1797, became a lieutenant in the Second Infantry in 1819, and had served in the Black Hawk War. He subsequently was honored for bravery in the Mexican War, and was a Major General serving with the Union army at his death in 1863. William H. Powell (comp.), *List of Officers of the Army of the United States . . .* (New York, 1900), 616.

⁴ Lieut. William N. Grier, a United States Military Academy graduate in 1835, had not accompanied the 1844 march of Company I. For the records of Allen,

camped on the timbers of the Des Moines river. it rained all last night, and has been cloudy for the greater part of the day. this evening a strong wind from S. W. which I think will bring up rain before morning. Capt. Allen quite sick last night and to day. we are all getting along most harmoniously. Occasionally a little brush between Tyndal and Hunt, the latter runs him rather hard.

June 1st

Left camp about 6½ A.M. rather hard marching through the prairies. passed the mouth of East Fork of Des Moines [Boone River] and encamped on a point of timber on the East side, some twenty three or four miles from our camp of last night. saw two Raccoons shot one and made a dog fight the other.⁵ Mason, Tyndal's servant shot a turkey last evening. all doing well. strong speculations as to how we shall get along with Capt. E. V. Sumner all expect to be blown up like the devil

June 2nd

Had a storm of rain before leaving camp this morning, and it continued at intervals till noon. it rained very hard last night. left camp about 7 A. M. well. after a hard days march reached Swan lake [Wall Lake] about 22 miles distance. we thought we saw Buffalo to day. Jones our old guide led out the party. Mr. Tyndall [sic] went out to take a rifle shot and then give chase. he was highly excited at the prospect of a buffalo chase, but was greatly disappointed when he found the buffalo turned out to be bushes on the prairies. his horse escaped and then he had a walk of two or three miles for his pains, which caused him to swear most horribly.

June 3rd

We left camp on swan lake early, had a hard march of some fifteen miles, and great difficulty in crossing the Iowa River.⁶ encamped on a high point on the river. had a strong wind in the evening with rain and hail, caused several of the horses to break loose but they were caught. every thing wet. on the 4th left camp but the Prairies so abominable that we could get but three miles so we encamped. Buffalo and Elk signs but they had been driven

Grier, Griffin, and Noble, see Powell (comp.), *List of Officers . . .*, *passim*. Hunt and Tyndal[?] apparently were of that clan of civilian adventure-seekers who often accompanied frontier military expeditions at their own risk and expense.

⁵ Dog and coon fights were considered high sport by the frontier soldier, possibly because such contests offered another opportunity for gambling. See Everett Dick, *The Story of the Frontier* (New York, 1941), 89.

⁶ Probably in the eastern part of the present Wright County.

off by a Party of Indians. three of the Company horses took a fright ran several miles. the fright was principally caused by a dog pursuing them. the Capt. ordered the dog to be shot. one of the horses so severely injured that fears were entertained that he would have to be shot.

June 6th

Since the 4th we had a most sweet time on the 5th it took us about twelve hours to march about 6 miles. encamped on the prairies. Tyndall, Jones, and Mr. Hunt's servt. went off in pursuit of buffalo, but found them to be Indians. Tyndall in attempting to cross the Iowa River, supposed some how or other that his spurs were made to hold on to the horse with his heels. the consequence was, the horse gave him the highest sort of a fall. encamped on a *slue* just before one of the hardest storms I ever witnessed came on.⁷ this storm continued all night the men without tents. on the 6th the prairies were found to be in such conditions that the waggons could not proceed with their loads. the consequence, every horse was turned into a pack horse, and then with the greatest difficulty we reached the point where we now are on Clear Lake, some twenty miles from our last camp.⁸ it rained on us for about two hours after we left camp like all wrath and made us very disagreeable. 7th, we rested on clear lake two days We was so fatigued, but we had fine sport fishing. fish in abundance. no game seen or killed it rained all the evening every body wet.

June 8th

This morning agreeably disappointed by an order to remain in camp as the prairies were believed to be impassible. It has been fair and only [sic] to day, and we hoped for better things tomorrow. fishing the order of the day, and several caught. one deer seen and a report that an Elk had been seen but doubted three men on the Doctors report.

June 9th

Left our camp on clear lake about 6½ A.M. the prospect of fair weather being good, Jones turned back for Fort Des Moines, to the regret of the

⁷ The intensity of prairie storms amazed travelers accustomed to calmer weather. During his famous journey along the Oregon Trail in 1846, young Francis Parkman was among the impressed, skin-soaked campers. "Last night, were awakened by tremendous peals of thunder, quite different from any in our part of the country—beginning with a tremendous burst, they ran reverberating around the whole firmament. The rain that followed was like a cataract, and beat through the tent in a thick drizzle, wetting everything." Mason Wade (ed.), *The Journals of Francis Parkman* (2 vols., New York, 1947), 2:425.

⁸ In the present Cerro Gordo County.

whole camp.⁹ Louis Le. Pont one of the Cpts. servants turned back with him. Louis said he was sick. tolerable hard marching had to pack horses several times. encamped on the Otter Fork [Shellrock River?], the creek and [out] of its banks, distance from last camp some twenty five miles.

Distance 25 miles.

June 10th

Got off from camp early. hard days march encamped on a *slue* on the prairie.

Distance 25 miles

June 11th

Did not leave our camp early this morning in consequence of a threatened Thunder storm. about seven we got under way and it took us just about the time of mounting our horses. for a few moments I never saw anything equal to the storm. the prairies horrible. mules stalled every two or three hundred yards. packed the horses and even then the mules would stick with an empty waggon. saw one Elk. encamped on a river [Cedar River?] very full looks about twenty feet wide. dont know whether it is the waters of blue Earth R or not. Hunt killed a little fawn this is the first four footed animal that has been killed.

June 12th

We left camp this morning about 7¹/₂ A. M. the weather threatening rain. we got a slight sprinkle but that was all. the prairies covered with water had to ferry a creek. no game except one deer. several pigeons seen. the country seems to be covered with water in all directions. encamped on a [Rice?] lake grazing good.

June 13th

I did not write [in] my journal on the 13th as it was so late when we got into camp, besides it was cold and we had all got a ducking. Lt. Jenkins joined us about 10 A.M. and while crossing a *slue* B. Co. under Command of Capt. E. V. Sumner came up, marched about ten miles and encamped on a grassy lake. all doing well and harmoniously.

June 14th

Left our camp about 7. A.M. marched with B. Co. cant but admire the way in which Capt. Sumner and Lt. Jenkins take the water.¹⁰ supposed we

⁹ The same Jones who had served as a civilian guide for the 1844 expedition.

¹⁰ Capt. Sumner, as a veteran campaigner, could "take the water." But he later complained about the wet weather because it delayed the expedition. "The prairies

saw a herd of buffalo to day. Lt. Pleasanton, Messrs Hunt and Tyndall went out to give chase, but the Buffalo turned out to be bushes.¹¹ they had to swim a stream coming back to the command. we ferried a stream of the Blue Earth to day, marched some ten miles. Capt. Sumner has carts for baggage instead of waggons and they go first rate. Capt. Sumner's Company killed a buffalo calf saw one buffalo cow. this is all that has been seen by either Company. the weather cold and disagreeable, threatening rain.

June 15th

Last night had a cold rain about 7½ or 8 P.M., and towards morning it was a great many degrees colder. had a tolerable fair march to day 15 or 18 miles. about half past two P. M. come up to a branch of the Blue Earth [East fork of the Cobb River]. considerable difficulty in crossing it. packed and ferried. encamped on the North side of the stream about 4½ P. M. got drenched shortly after getting into camp by a Thunder Storm, though we had been in the water two hours previous.

June 16th

This morning cold and disagreeable, started about 7 A. M. Co. I had considerable difficulty in getting along, *slues* and bogs. come up to the River La. Leur, very rapid and difficult to cross.¹² caught a young fawn attempting to cross the river. Co. I crossed their baggage over the river. Co. B. on this side west. the men of Co. I marched nine miles pleasant evening.

June 17th

In the evening about tatoo Howard of Co. I discharged his pistol accidentally, shot himself through the thigh about three inches above the knee. the pall passed through a tent just over a man's breast and finally wounded another man of Co. I. in the knee. we marched to the River La. Leur crossed with great difficulty and had a great march through the woods. It

were very wet and the streams all full, which delayed my arrival at 'Traverse des Sioux' till June 22." Jacob Van der Zee (ed.), "Captain Edwin V. Sumner's Dragoon Expedition in the Territory of Iowa . . . 1845," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 11:260 (April, 1913). Hereafter listed as "Sumner's Report."

¹¹ The Company B officers mentioned were Lieut. Leonidas Jenkins, a USMA graduate of 1841, and Lieut. Alfred Pleasanton, class of 1844, who later gained praise at Palo Alto, Antietam, and Gettysburg. Powell (comp.), *List of Officers* . . ., 398, 532.

¹² Lesueur River. See the Nicollet map of 1843 in *House Executive Document*, No. 52, 28 Cong., 2 Sess. (1844-1845).

took 18 men to bring Howard through on a litter. Berry come on a cart and suffered dreadfully. both better in the evening. It was about the worst road I ever saw, the waggons were stuck nearly all day. Co. B. broke one of their carts to pieces. encamped on a prairie within three quarters of a mile of the St. Peters.¹³ Distance 7 miles.

June 18th

The Wounded men better this morning. Capt. Sumner ordered a couple of canoes to be made, for the transportation of the Wounded to Travers [sic] Des Sioux. we left our camp about 2. P.M. marched with the Wounded about three quarters of a mile and embarked them in canoes for the Travers Des Sioux. started out and found the Prairies good. marched some six miles and encamped on a creek putting into the St. Peters, with very high bluff banks.¹⁴ saw one deer no other game. found plenty of strawberries, we had the fashionable of the prairies, strawberry punch.

June 19th

Left camp about the usual time this morning. had a bad *slue* to cross, just after leaving camp. marched several miles found a fine strawberry patch, every man ate and was filled. about this time Lt. Jenkins came up and reported the route from where we were to the Travers Des Sioux was perfectly impassible for waggons, and that the Makinaw [sic] boat was above us on the river some three miles.¹⁵ a counter march was immediately ordered. we proceeded to the boat found it under a very high bluff, that a man could hardly get down on foot. Capt. Sumner ordered the boat up the stream, we followed some miles, found it impracticable to transport the baggage across the bottom, in consequence of the trembling Earth. Capt. Allen said that he would cut a road in two hours that would be practicable for waggons to pass. this Capt. Sumner doubted.¹⁶ Capt. Allen asked for men and tools. sure enough Allen fixed a road. we encamped about a mile from Capt. Allen. that night we killed a beef the first fresh meat we have had since we left Fort Des Moines.¹⁷

¹³ Near the present site of Mankato, Minnesota.

¹⁴ The Nicollet map indicates this stream was then known as Tchankaska River.

¹⁵ The "Mackinaw boats" used in this region were a type of flatboat adapted for use in shallow water.

¹⁶ Sumner had been a captain since 1833 and was therefore the ranking officer in command of the combined companies. The journal-keeper displayed a natural loyalty for his "old man," Capt. Allen.

¹⁷ It was customary for an expedition to have a herd of domestic cattle which accompanied the baggage train. The dragoons serving with Col. Stephen W. Kearny

June 20th

This morning we marched for Allen's road found it tolerably steep, but good enough for a horse to go down, and a waggon to be let down by hand. It was decided by Capt. Sumner to send the waggons and baggage by the boat to Travers Des Sioux, and to swim the horses over the river, and the men to march down and meet us at that point. attempting to swim some six horses over, they was nearly drowned. the boat got loose from the rope stretched over the river. they however got loose and got to the Opposite shore. the greatest difficulty was then found to get them out of the water they were however all saved. the sick men ordered on the boat, and Dr Griffin ordered to accompany them to see the two wounded men at Travers Des Sioux. we made a beautiful run, and anchored at the Travers all safe.¹⁸ encamped and eat dinner with Lt. Masters [Frederick H. Masten] of the first U. S. Infantry. found the sick well. saw the Indian Trader Mr. Le Blanc, and the Missionary¹⁹ heard various reports of the Red River

June 21st

The two Companies on the opposite of the river last night. this morning they crossed. several horses like to have been lost. however all got over safely.²⁰ to night we have corn for our horses. saw a good many Sioux Indians the women rather good looking. Sick doing well

June 22nd

This morning started the wounded in the Makinaw boat for Fort Snelling.

during this same summer (1845) had thirty head of cattle "to provide for emergencies; but the balance of our edibles in the meat line, both for officers and men, was saving the Government a vast deal of money on this score—by transporting itself over the prairies in the shape of buffaloes, deer, and antelopes; but like Mrs. Glass's rabbit, would have to be caught and killed before it could well be either cooked or eaten." Lieutenant J. Henry Carleton, *The Prairie Logbooks*, edited by Louis Pelzer (Chicago, 1943), 158-9.

¹⁸ Since the rest of the command traveled by land, while the journal-keeper was obviously aboard the Mackinaw boat with Doctor Griffin, it is probable that he was acting as the surgeon's assistant.

¹⁹ Louis Le Blanc operated a trading post at Traverse des Sioux. His real name was Louis Provencalle, but he was also known to the Sioux as Skadan ("Whitey"), which accounts for the Gallic adaption which Provencalle used. See William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (4 vols., St. Paul, 1921), 1:120n. The missionary was the Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, who had been in the Minnesota country since 1837. He held a reception for Sumner and Allen during their stay at Traverse des Sioux. Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I, Forty Years with the Sioux* (Boston, 1887), 119.

²⁰ "On my arrival at Traverse des Sioux, I found a boat from Fort Snelling, with my howitzers, provisions, &c.," Capt. Sumner reported. He found no fault with the guns, but complained that "instead of 31 barrels of flour, which should have been sent, 17 only were forwarded." "Sumner's Report," 260.

afterward we had nothing to do in camp. went to hear Mr. Reggs the Misionary [sic] preach. had a very good sermon. it was a severe warm day.

June 23rd

Still in camp. Capt. Sumner had the brass cannon fired to astonish the Indians²¹ in the evening sent up rockets. every man to stand by his horse to see he dont take fright at the rockets.

June 24th

Still in camp have seen little of Travers Des Sioux. travelled several times up to the Indian camp.²² all well. start in the morning.

June 25th

Left Travers Des Sioux with small regret. left two men of B. Co. Sergt. Martin and Pvt. Lasper. several of the gentlemen from the interior Messrs Kittson, Rowlett and McCleand accompanied us.²³ had a very big swamp to cross. marched 15 or 16 miles on the Red River trail.²⁴ encamped in a square rather too close quarters. I. Co. placed to the Commanders left.

June 26th

Started off and stuck in slues as usual nothing going on. marched 15 or 18 miles. encamped on clear water lake and very bad water we found it, not fit for a decent dog to drink. I forgot to mention that the water on swan lake last night very bad.²⁵

²¹ Having traveled some distance to impress the Indians, the dragoons usually put on a show for the tribesmen. "After a Council was over, the troops were mounted, and four Divisions executed a 'charge.' . . . This done, a great number of shells were fired, to show them their effect. Many of these shells were so arranged as to explode in the air, and some after they had struck. How this was all brought about was past their comprehension." Carleton, *Prairie Logbooks*, 149.

²² According to the artist Frank Blackwell Mayer, this Indian village near Traverse des Sioux was called Karmeahton, "the village in the corner." Frank Blackwell Mayer, *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier of 1851 . . .*, edited by Bertha L. Heilbron (St. Paul, 1932), 167.

²³ These fur traders were Norman W. Kittson, Joseph Rolette, Jr., and Martin McLeod—all of whom had some ties with the American Fur Company. See Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1:164n, 257; also Clarence W. Rife, "Norman W. Kittson, A Fur-Trader at Pembina," *Minnesota History*, 6:229-30 (September, 1925). Many years later, Kittson became a partner of James J. Hill, George Stephen, and Donald A. Smith in reorganizing the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railroad.

²⁴ Traders bound for the Red River Valley and Pembina usually followed one of three routes. This one skirted the St. Peter's (Minnesota) to Big Stone Lake, then crossed the portage to Lake Traverse, and proceeded north along the Bois de Sioux River. Grace Lee Nute, "The Red River Trails," *Minnesota History*, 6:279-82 (September, 1925). See also E. S. Seymour, *Sketches of Minnesota . . .* (New York, 1850), 112.

²⁵ Swan Lake, in Nicollet County, Minnesota.

June 27th

Left camp this morning about 7. A.M. the marching was comparatively good, though bad enough at that. crossed a small stream about 12½ P.M. I believe it was called Beaver River. no game except a few wild Ducks. encamped about 4 P. M. remarkably hot. all doing well no incident worth mentioning. Distance 16 miles.

28,29,30th June

Had good marching from this time to the 2nd July when we arrived at Lake La Palle.²⁶ was mustered at Pattersons Rapids on the St. Peters.²⁷ the marching was very fine for three days before we arrived at the Lake. found at this place a trading house and a Missionary Station.²⁸ the Missionary Dr. Williamson formerly of Ohio, is a graduate in medicine and is said to have great influence with the Indians. he is a fine old man and very hospitable.

July 2nd

We remained in camp to day Capt. Sumner had a council with the Indians, made a distribution of the presents, several speeches made nothing that I thought worth mentioning occurred.²⁹ got some corn meal here.

July 3rd

We left camp this morning about 7½ A.M. had fine marching crossed the Pomme De Terre River, a beautiful clear branch of the St. Peters about

²⁶ Lac qui Parle—"Speaking Lake" on some early Minnesota maps—is a widening of the Minnesota River.

²⁷ Patterson's Rapids, between the Redwood and Yellow Medicine rivers, was named after the trader Charles Patterson, who probably was active in the area as early as 1784. Grace Lee Nute, "Posts in the Minnesota Fur-Trading Area, 1660-1855," *Minnesota History*, 11:378 (December, 1930).

²⁸ The trading post was operated by Joseph Renville. It was a stockade "located about half a mile from the southeastern extremity" of Lac qui Parle. *Idem*. The missionary was the Rev. Thomas S. Williamson of Adams County, Ohio, who came to the region in 1835. Martin McLeod heard the missionary preach in 1837, when the trader made this diary entry: "Went to hear Mr W preach—he also read a chapter from the Testament in Dakota and a young man present, another in french. A number of the psalms of David were sung in Dakota by half breeds and Indians. The audience consisted of half breeds, Indians, Canadians, and a few Whites." Grace Lee Nute, "The Diary of Martin McLeod," *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 4:417 (August-November, 1922).

²⁹ Capt. Sumner reported his conversation with the Wahpeton Sioux Council. After presenting the Indians with the customary presents, Sumner told them "that our government felt a deep interest in their welfare; and that so long as they conducted themselves properly, and did not wantonly molest the whites, they might be sure of protection." He assured the Sioux no lawbreaker would escape the vengeance of the United States government, and suspected their hostility to his mission.

1 P.M.³⁰ took in wood, and encamped in the evening on the prairie. I forgot to mention the rivers crossed by us coming from the Travers Des Sioux to Lake La Palle. the first the beaver, 2nd Eau Die Vie [Hawk Creek], 3rd the Chippeway³¹ all fine clear streams, branches of the St. Peters.

4,5,6,7 July

We spent the 4th on the prairie it rained all day. we met a party of Sioux Indians and encamped on Big Stone Lake. on the 5th marched up the lake to Kittsons trading house.³² encamped. rain in the evening, fishing by the men, some fine bass and pike caught. some eight or nine Sioux Lodges in one hundred yards of our camp. the greatest care taken with our horses. none lost yet. 6th encamped Capt. Sumner held council with the Indians.³³ the Chiefs War Eagle, Red Thunder, and Terre qui Brule attended great beggars gave them the presents sent by the Government. they would like to have had more but could not get any more. then they tried for a little to eat but that was impossible as we had nothing to spare, the Indians in all parts of our camp a great annoyance to us. 7th We left our camp for the Shayenne River and as high up as we can go. will be absent probably some twenty or thirty days. have a new guide a Mr. Bird from the Red River. marched some 20 miles. nothing seen as usual, except some wolves.³⁴ encamped near a lake³⁵ very hard to get wood.

Sumner, convinced that the Wahpeton Sioux preferred the half breed hunting excursions from Canada to interference from the army, declared this band of Sioux "professed their ignorance on the subject. . . ." "Sumner's Report," 261.

³⁰ In Swift County, Minnesota.

³¹ The second stream mentioned here, the Eau de Vie, was also known to the trappers as the Epervier River. "On our map we have retained the term Epervier, which, being in use among some of the traders, and intelligible both to French and English travellers, appears likely to prevail." William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter's River* . . . (2 vols., London, 1825), 1:371. "Epervier" is the French word for "hawk," which accounts for the present name of the creek.

³² Kittson maintained a headquarters on Big Stone Lake. Rife, "Norman W. Kittson . . .," 227.

³³ These were the Sisseton ("lake village") Sioux, one of the seven divisions of the Dakota tribe. It was their alleged complaint that had brought the dragoon expedition northward. "The Sisitons [sic] have complained of the 'Half Breeds' from the settlement in Canada, coming into their country, quarrelling with them, and killing their buffalo." *Niles Weekly Register*, July 12, 1845. Capt. Sumner gave them "the residue of the presents," although he was convinced the Indians unfavorably compared this offering with "the very liberal gifts they formerly received from the English agents." "Sumner's Report," 261-2.

³⁴ "The wolves appear to be very abundant in these prairies. We have frequently heard them barking in the night, and occasionally seen them. Two young wolves

June [July] 8th

This morning had a Thunder Storm which prevented our leaving camp as early as usual. left about half past 8 A.M. had good marching. about 11. A.M. come up to a camp of fifteen lodges of [Yankton?] Sioux Indians. the Chief was anxious that our commander C. Sumner should stop and have a talk, as he the Indian Chief wanted tobacco, Powder and balls. but as we had nothing to give the Council was short. Capt. Sumner recognized among the Indians, the Murderers, who escaped from Col. Wilson's command last fall.³⁶ the Capt. immediately arrested them and has them now in close confinement. saw antelope. crossed some salt marshes, and encamped near a place called the Thunders Nest.³⁷ Distance 18 miles.

July 9th

This morning left camp as usual, marched some twenty miles and encamped on scratching dog Creek.³⁸ this was one of the holiest days I ever

were seen near Beaver rivulet, and easily caught by the soldiers . . . but they both made their escape during the night." Keating, *Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's* . . ., 1:373.

³⁵ The dragoons apparently crossed the portage between Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse and struck what Keating called "Polecat Lake" on his earlier journey. *Ibid.*, 1:378. The portage which the dragoons crossed was a "divide" which separates by only a few miles streams which flow south to the Gulf of Mexico and north to the Hudson's Bay.

³⁶ Capt. Sumner "was holding an informal council, in the saddle, with a band of Sissitons, when three of the murderers of Watson and party . . . had the assurance to walk directly into the council." "Sumner's Report," 262. Sumner had arrested the men a year earlier and bound them over to Lieut. Col. Henry Wilson at Fort Snelling. The Indians escaped shortly thereafter. Capt. Sumner believed them to be the Indians responsible for the deaths of several cattle drovers who wandered from their route in southwest Minnesota and were harassed by a disappointed Dakota war party. See Stephen R. Riggs, "Dakota Portraits," *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2:488-9 (November, 1918). The prisoners were eventually taken to Dubuque, where Sumner had them placed in the custody of civil authorities. Riggs reported that they were later "permitted to escape," but three of the four accused Indians died en route to their homes. Riggs, *Mary and I* . . ., 119-20.

³⁷ A high ridge rising west of the Bois des Sioux River near Hankinson, North Dakota. The artist George Catlin had visited the Lightning's, or Thunder's, Nest in 1836. He recorded an Indian myth about this location which held that the spot was sacred ground where "a very small bird sits upon her eggs during fair weather, and the skies are rent with bolts of thunder at the approach of a storm, which is occasioned by the hatching of her brood! This bird is eternal, and incapable of reproducing her own species: she has often been seen by the medicine-men, and is about as large as the end of the little finger." George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* (2 vols., London, 1842), 2:164.

³⁸ Now the Wild Rice River.

felt for heat. Mr Tyndall utterly failed this was caused by his running his horse.

July 10th

Delayed this morning mending the carts we do march a little slower than I ever knew a column to move before. if anything this was a warmer day than yesterday. we suffered much from the heat. many of the men have been taken sick, cause excessive heat and bad water. Dysentery and Diarrhea the most common complaint. Capt Allen taken sick. marched only ten miles, and encamped on a lake said to be ten miles from Shayenne River.

July 11th

We left our camp early this morning, marched some ten miles, and camped on the Shayenne at noon, went to see the battle ground between the Sioux and Mandans,³⁹ the latter 35 to 400 Sioux. Mandans all killed, nineteen Sioux killed in the fight. found horses heads laid up in a circle on the prairie. the thigh bones of the horses broken up and thrown in the centre, and pieces of the ankles of the Mandans scattered about among the horses bones. I got here a Temporal bone, and found in a ravine beads paint &c, where the Mandans had been surprised. after remaining here for an hour moved on and encamped on the Shayenne River. this is one of the worst places I have ever seen for every thing but wood. water extremely bad and hard to get.⁴⁰

July 12th

Nothing seen to day. buffalo signs in great abundance. marched up the shayenne river some 25 miles encamped near the river.

July 13th

This being sunday remained in camp all day. camp convenient to the river. all doing well. it is said we are within a few days march of Devils Lake. decided upon going to that point so that we may meet the half breeds. about 2 P.M. a Buffalo bull came in sight on the Other side of the

³⁹ In the central part of what is now Ransom County, South Dakota. Clashes between the Mandan and Sioux tribes were frequent until a smallpox epidemic in 1837 reduced the Mandan tribe from a vigorous population of 1,600 to about 100 souls. See Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians* (Bulletin 30, 2 vols., Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1907-1910), 1:798.

⁴⁰ The brackish water which perturbed the thirsty dragoons is characteristic of this area where saline deposits are found in the soil. Nicollet attributed the huge herds of buffalo in the region to this phenomena. Nicollet, *Report of the Upper Mississippi River* . . . , 50.

river. The Indian Brother of one of the prisoners and Mr. Ferrybeau gave chase and killed him.⁴¹ the rest of us prevented from joining in consequence of a report that the Buffalo would be still hunted. upon the return of the hunters it was reported that there was a large herd in sight. saddles and horses immediately in demand. we left camp but nothing was seen except a wolf, this was chased by several of the party. the guide Mr. Bird joined fired his gun his horse pitched him over his head.⁴²

July 14th

We left our camp this morning and continued our march a little North, about 11. A.M. saw a buffalo killed by Mr. Ferrybeau proved to be a blind bull. The sign of buffalo continues to increase. from the appearance of the trails and the way in which the grass was eaten down, thousands must have passed a few days before. Lt. Pleasanton chased antelope but it was no go he did not kill any. two or three herds of antelope seen. great numbers of the large grey wolves seen. two were killed. just as we were coming into camp large herds of buffalo were seen to the North. as it was late and a Thunder Storm coming up, it was decided that a chase was no go. marched 21 miles encamped near Freunias Old trading house.⁴³

July 15th, 16th

We have continued our march towards devils Lake all hands in tolerable good spirits. Buffalo constantly in sight and chasing common. Ferrybeau is the most successful hunter, next Mr. Tyndall. some twenty killed in all.

July 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st.

On the 17th we left our camp and after marching a few miles, we heard several shots fired across the shayenne river. Capt Sumner believeing [sic] them to have been the half breeds, immediately sent Mr. Ferrybeau and Mr. Bird in search of them. then we continued our march. previous to

⁴¹ The "Mr. Ferrybeau" mentioned here must be one of the ubiquitous Faribault family, several of whom were prominent traders in the Sioux country.

⁴² Sumner alludes to "my interpreter" when mentioning Bird in his report. A notorious half-breed named Bird had acted as an interpreter along the Missouri a few years earlier, but there is no evidence linking this "treacherous, very dangerous man," with the Bird who served the dragoons. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, "Travels in the Interior of North America," in Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels: 1748-1846* (32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907), 23:135.

⁴³ The American Fur Company had established a post at Butte Pelee, or Bald Hill, late in 1842. Joseph R. Brown and probably Francois Freniere were the traders. Nute, "Minnesota Fur-Trading Posts," 380. This entry suggests that the post had been abandoned.

leaving I forgot to mention that the guide and Mr. Ferrybeau found a horse on the prairies, this supposed to belong to the Red River people. about 12. M. on the lake De Choate this is a salt lake.⁴⁴ no buffalo. here we struck the half breeds trail, and from appearance a great number there must have been. encamped on Devils Lake in the evening.⁴⁵ this is a very pretty body of water but too salt[y] to be drank.

July 19th

Last night about 10 P.M. the guide returned with several of the half breeds. they are fine large fellows and said to be the best Buffalo chasers in the country. last night we had a hard time we was saluted by a dreadful storm, our tents were blown down and it rained like all wrath. Capt. Sumner held council with the half breeds to day. they seem a most reasonable and friendly people. the Capt. cautioned them not to hunt on our grounds. they promised to ask the permission of the President of the United States for so doing.⁴⁶ after the council we marched for the half breed camp. this we found on the West side [of] the Shayenne they were encamped in a square some six hundred carts formed it.⁴⁷ there are two hundred hunters in camp. their last chase some 5 or 7 hundred buffalo killed. the women busy ren-

⁴⁴ Stump Lake in Nelson County, North Dakota. The Red River half-breeds called this the Lac des Chicots (Lake of the Stumps), while the Sioux knew the lake as Wamduska-mde (Lake of the Serpents). Nicollet, *Report of the Upper Mississippi River* . . ., 51.

⁴⁵ Nicollet reported Devil's Lake was the *voyageur's* translation of the Sioux name, *Mini-wakan* (Enchanted, or Spirited, Water). *Ibid.*, 48-9.

⁴⁶ Capt. Sumner "found them to be a shrewd and sensible people; but they are by no means as formidable as they have been represented to be. . . . A few regular troops have nothing to fear from them." Sumner was sympathetic to their plight and suggested a petition "asking as a favor that a year or two might be granted to them in order to give them a little time to commence some other course of life. I told them expressly that I could give them no encouragement to believe that their request would be granted; and if it was not, they must discontinue their incursions at once." "Sumner's Report," 264. He predicted the Metis would flock into the United States through the outpost at Pembina "without receiving any encouragement from our government." Amos J. Bruce, the Sioux agent, resented Sumner's alleged magnanimity, for he presumed the captain was supporting a Metis claim to part of the region west of the Red River of the North. See *Senate Documents*, No. 1, 29 Cong., 1 Sess. (1845-1846), 490.

⁴⁷ The Red River carts were described by the fur trader Alexander Henry (the Younger) in 1801 as "small carts, the wheels of which are one solid piece, sawed off the ends of trees whose diameter is three feet." Elliott Coues (ed.), *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson* (3 vols., New York, 1897), 1:191. One of the light, strong carts could carry a load of 500 pounds "and make fifty miles a day when drawn by a pony. . . ." Howard, *Strange Empire*, 55.

dering fat, making dried meat &c.⁴⁸ 20 left our camp after another council with them, trading in great style. marched some five miles encamped.

July 21st

Left camp early marched 25 miles. off for the United States. Buffalo in great abundance.

July 22nd

Marched on the prairie (lost) towards evening we found we had run too near in to the Shayenne river. we crossed that river and encamped near Freunias Old trading house. an Indian was seen by Mr. Ferrybeau, a buffalo bull charged the line, was killed after some fifty shots. we saw a herd of buffalo yesterday evening estimated at between 3 or 4 thousand. they are not so plenty to day, dont think we shall see any more.

July 23rd, 24th

Took our back trail to the great disgust of everybody, nothing seen.⁴⁹ encamp every night at or near our old camps going up. the Capt. [Sumner] seems to have no confidence in his own prairie craft, and seems to think every person like himself.

July 25th

Marched some twenty miles to day, crossed the shayenne and leave it I hope forever. encamped on the prairie near our old camp on a small lake. no incidents, and nothing going on. it is said we will be at Fort Des Moines in four weeks. the Lord grant the same.

July 26th

Continued march, scrupulously adhering to our old trail. Watering and camping places as near as circumstances would permit. crossed the scratch-

⁴⁸ Five years earlier the Metis hunters were observed by Alexander Ross, who reported that on a single day "at least two thousand buffaloes must have been killed, for there were brought in to the camp that evening 1375 tongues. . . . The carts follow out after the hunters and bring in the carcasses, and for several days there is a busy scene in camp. Much of the meat is useless in consequence of the heat of the season; but the skins are dressed, the tongues cured, and pemmican prepared." Quoted in Edward D. Neill, *The History of Minnesota* . . . (Minneapolis, 1882), 451.

⁴⁹ The journal-keeper's aversion to returning by the old route seems to have been an "occupational malady" with the dragoons. Capt. Philip St. George Cooke, who was with another dragoon regiment in the far west in 1845, corroborated this evidence of boredom. "Homeward bound!! . . . But to retrace one's step is dull; dull even to the wilderness wanderer, to whom the face of Nature is all in all; who seeks, by change and novelty, to charm away the sense of mere routine, fatigue, and privation." Philip S. G. Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army* . . . (Philadelphia, 1857), 365-6.

ing dog Creek, encamped on a salt lake,⁵⁰ some 23 miles from our last camp. the Dr. traded off one of his horses with Mr. Ferrybeau for seventy dollars and a white pony.

July 27th

This being sunday remained in camp, particularly as a beef was killed last night. this was agreeable to everybody. provisions very scarce. sleeping the chief amusement in camp.

July 28th

This morning we all left camp in high spirits, but it was soon discovered that our commander was in one of his slow moods, so we were obliged to hold in our impatient steeds, but in doing so there was tolerable hard swearing. We wound around in every direction, the guide seeming to avoid our former trail. the Capt manifesting the greatest anxiety to get on it, but as he did not know where it was, of course the guide had him fast. after marching some twenty four miles, having been twelve hours in the saddle, we encamped on Lake Travers, some fifteen miles from McClouds [Martin McLeod] trading house. we met two chiefs to day Terre Qui Brule, and the Orphan.

July 29th

Had a cold storm last night, cool all day. marched some fifteen miles from our camp of last night, and arrived at McClouds trading house on Big Stone Lake.⁵¹ found no Indians at this place as we expected, glad of it for they are most infernal beggars.

July 30th

Left camp this morning as usual though we expected to rest to day. but the Capt altered his mind to the great satisfaction of all of us. we passed the end of Big Stone lake about 3. P. M. and encamped at the big lodge late in the evening. Distance 25 miles.

July 31st

Left camp this morning as usual. marched to Lake L. Palle. Distance 27 miles.

August 1st

Left our camp and arrived at the Mission about 9. A. M. found every-

⁵⁰ In the lakes region of what is now Richland County, North Dakota.

⁵¹ McLeod maintained a post on Big Stone Lake from 1843 to 1846. Joseph Ren-ville died in 1846, whereupon McLeod moved his operations to Lac qui Parle. Nute, "Minnesota Fur-Trading Posts," 378-9.

thing as we had left it. in the evening Mr. Kittson came up with his carts bound for Red River. brought the Mail. great excitement in camp as to news, nothing in particular except Texas annexed. Berry the poor fellow who was wounded below the St. Peters was dead.

Aug 2nd

Left our camp crossed the Chippeway River, and encamped on the Eau Die Vie. Distance 25 miles.

Aug 3rd

Started early marched all day encamped on the Beaver River. nothing going on worth mentioning. Distance 30 miles.

Aug 4th

Continued march and arrived at La Franhon trading house in the rain — on the St. Peters.⁵²

Aug 5th

Remained in camp to day had a heavy thunder storm last night, tents blew down, rain came in and made everything most horribly moist. Mr. Hunt and the Doctor purchased a [Red River] cart.

Aug 6th

Left camp, something of a hurry getting off, as our side of the camp was not quite prepared. however by slighting breakfast got everything ready. excessively hot to day. marched 20 miles. encamped on a clear lake at the same spot we stopped at the first night we left Travers Des Sioux on our way up,⁵³ as we will soon be off for Fort Des Moines

Aug 7th

Lost two of our mules this morning. after looking for some time found them. crossed the Wee Wee swamp with little difficulty. the Dr Horse only throwing him over his head. arrived at Traverse Des Sioux about 2. P.M. some forty lodges of Sioux Indians encamped here. no boat with provisions it is said that the articles will be scarce.

Aug 8th

Spent the day in camp, saw an Indian war dance.⁵⁴ nothing going on. the Capt. arrested the Indian who stole our horses last summer.⁵⁵

⁵² This must be the trading post at the mouth of the Cottonwood River operated by Joseph Laframboise. Company B had visited the post during its 1844 expedition. *Ibid.*, 377.

⁵³ Swan Lake in Nicollet County, Minnesota.

⁵⁴ Artist Frank Blackwell Mayer, when he visited Traverse des Sioux in 1851, also witnessed a Sioux war dance which he described in some detail. "None were ad-

Aug 9th

Still remain in Camp, a little forage, nothing going on. the boat arrives from Fort Snelling plenty of provisions.

Aug 10th

Boat left this morning Lt. Jenkins with the Prisoners on board, and six men. Mr. Reggs preached in camp and that is all.

Aug 11th

By special order we left our camp this morning precisely at 7. A.M. Capt. Sumner departing on his way to Fort Atkinson, and Capt. Allen for Fort Des Moines. Capt. Sumner true to his route could not desert his old trail, so he took it, knowing before he started it was a very bad one. Capt. Allen having no such partiality marched for a point on the St. Peters several miles above the mouth of Blue Earth River — this was represented as a good crossing. the Sioux Chief being our guide we came up to the River about 3. P.M. found everything as had been represented except we had to ferry the river. we however crossed in good time and made a fine camp on the South Side of the St. Peters, for all of which the Lord be praised.

Aug 12th

Left camp this morning about 7. A.M. we have no watch in camp consequently all time mentioned is guess work. had a hard pull out of the Valley of the St. Peters. struck out with the Waraque [Watonwan] River to our right, and the Blue Earth to our left. timber in all directions. headed off constantly towards the west by marshes and *slues* marched some twenty miles and encamped on a grove of timber and *slue*. muisquitoes in great abundance⁵⁶ nothing else that I can see.

Aug 13th

Started early, marched with some little difficulty out of the *Slues* and mitted but those who had taken a scalp & signalized himself by his valour. Each carried his favourite weapon a war-club, tomahawk or lance & danced, in the bear-style, elevated their weapons above their heads & accompanying the 'tam-tam' of the drums with a war song. At the conclusion of each stanza, if I may so speak, one of them stepped into the ring formed by his companions & related in a bravado manner some of his most daring exploits, at the conclusion of the recital a 'hoah!' from all was the response & the dance & song succeeded for a few minutes when another stood up & endeavour[ed] to exceed his predecessor in the extravagance of his story." Mayer, *Pen and Pencil on the Frontier* . . ., 163.

⁵⁵ During the 1844 expedition Company I had "lost" several mounts in the Sioux country. "These animals were stolen by an Indian," Capt. Sumner declared. "I heard of this man frequently. He had been running about the country boasting of this feat, and I determined to arrest him if possible, as it appeared to me highly

Lakes among which we encamped, but in a short time struck good prairie, crossed a small stream some twenty feet Wide,⁵⁷ had good marching untill about 4. P.M. crossed a prairie branch and running in the course of the Blue Earth River.⁵⁸ encamped on a lake fine body of Water, Ducks, Geese and Swan. sign of Elk. Distance 27 miles. Course S. W.

Aug 14th

Left camp late in consequence of rain. about 9 A.M. started 10½ A. M, come to a very pretty stream, course of stream N. E. great bodys of timber in all directions. confident predictions as to the Des Moines river, being near about 4. P.M. saw woods &c. pronounced by the most knowing to be the Des Moines all a mistake, it is a Lake [East Chain Lake?]. we encamped on it. Course S.W. Distance 20 miles.

Aug 15th

Remained in Camp to day. a rain in showers through the forenoon, some ducks killed and fish caught. Corpl. Gould sent out to explore, returned and reported he found a stream running to the S.E. from the Description I believe it to be the middle branch of the Des Moines.⁵⁹ we are further south than we anticipated.

Aug 16th

Left camp in consequence of a dense fog, marched to the west of the Lake and took a S.W. course. crossed a small branch about 12. M. running due East, this supposed to be a branch of the Middle fork of Des Moines.⁶⁰ much timber to the south of us. various surmises as to what it might be. struck a stream about 3½ P.M. from the size and general appearance

important that all Indians should be made to know that the horses of the government, on service in the Indian country, are inviolable, and that they cannot be touched by them without the certainty of punishment at the time, or afterwards." "Sumner's Report," 266. Unable to place the Indian before a court at Traverse des Sioux, Sumner had him removed to Fort Snelling for trial.

⁵⁶ When Company D, First Dragoons, passed through Minnesota a few years later, another journal-keeper went into greater detail with his complaint about the mosquitoes. "On the 22d we lay encamped, fighting mosquitoes and flies. What an intolerable army of bores! How annoying! They shed more of our own and horses' blood in this expedition, than enough to shed glory upon a whole army of Mexicans. . . . We remained in camp on the 23d, bitten as bad as ever; the back-biting of a Sewing Society is *nothing* to it." "A Dragoon on the March to Pembina in 1849," *Minnesota History*, 8:66 (March, 1927).

⁵⁷ Elm Creek, Martin County, Minnesota.

⁵⁸ Center and South creeks, tributaries of the Blue Earth.

⁵⁹ Now known as the East Fork of the Des Moines River.

⁶⁰ In northwestern section of Emmet County, Iowa.

known to be the Des Moines, but what branch or whereabouts no one seemed to know. the banks were high, the river being a deep wooded valley the timber extending considerably up the bluffs. the place looked familiar to me it being in my opinion where Lt. Potter crossed last summer to go to a lake on the west side.⁶¹ Distance 18 miles.

Aug 17th

Had a tremendous storm last night, about the loudest thunder and as much rain in a short time as I ever knew to fall, slightly mixed with hail. the misquitoses outrageous. Tyndall in great disgust at the same. Lt. Grier waked and could not sleep, made Lt. Noble and the Dr believe it was day break so they got up dressed and smoked a pipe, found out however it was only 12 at night, turned in again and had a quiet snooze. did not leave camp early in consequence of every one being drenched. took our course down the river, and noon'd on a small stream where we broke the tongue of the Ox waggon last summer in attempting to cross it. this was the day in which Lt. Calhoun and Jones went off to explore, found a lake with a stream running out of it, supposed by them to be a branch of the Blue Earth⁶² the same day on which Lt. Potter and Private Howard explored up the Des Moines river, the latter shot a fawn. the dispute renewed as to how far we are from the Iron Banks. every one had a different distance. we encamped to day on a lake on which we noon'd going up last summer.⁶³ saw some Elk some 8 or 10 in number. Distance 20 miles.

Aug 18th

Detained by a heavy fog. Mr. Hunt, Tyndall and the Dr. hunted along the Des Moines river all day, saw great sign of Elk, but could find none. we killed in all one goose, several ducks and prairie hens. the day passed pleasantly and quickly. we did not arrive in camp till late, when we found our friends in the most anxious state of mind for us, supposing we were

⁶¹ See Lieut. Joseph Haydn Potter's map of the 1844 march of the Company I dragoons in Robert Rutland (ed.), "A Journal of the First Dragoons in the Iowa Territory, 1844," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51: facing 64 (January, 1953). Potter drew no lake on the west side of the Des Moines until he was much farther north of the expedition's 1845 camping site. The lack of an accurate map obviously led to a great amount of discussion among the dragoons as to where they were in relation to where they had been the previous year.

⁶² Here the journal-keeper alludes to the incident of August 28, on the 1844 expedition, when Lieut. Patrick Calhoun and a civilian guide came upon Okamanpedan (or Tuttle) Lake and presumed it to be the source of the Blue Earth River. See *ibid.*, 67. The spelling of "Okamanpedan" varies.

⁶³ Probably High Lake, in Emmet County.

lost. we found this camp on a lake that last year Lt. Potter, Calhoun, Jones and the Doctor took a hunt on. this was near the lake in the prairie where we encamped last year. after having crossed a *slue*, O'Connor fired his gun the Capt supposing it was the Doctor fired. Lt. Noble says this is the same chain of Lakes we had to ferry last summer, many of the men think so too, I think not.⁶⁴ Distance 18 miles.

Aug 19th

We made an early start this morning. Hunt, Tyndall and the Doctor again on the Des Moines no game except a few ducks and a couple of prairie hens. the Command come on a fine herd of Elk some two or three hundred. six were killed in the Chase. I had a splendid chase some two or three miles. plenty to eat and a black bear was seen near camp. a lake about a mile to our right supposed to be the place where I carved the date of our encampment last summer, after the celebrated storm of the 22nd [21st] of august last year.⁶⁵ most excessively hot to day. Distance 12 miles.

Aug 20th

Remained in camp this day. amusements hunting two Deer killed by Private Gard, and several geese killed by various persons.

Aug 21st

Crossed the Des Moines and marched on the South Side made a long march of it, come on near the Iron banks. encamped on the same point of timber we encamped on last year after leaving Lizard Creek,⁶⁶ and singular enough both our camps at this point were late, and rather disagreeable. the Distance marched to day about 29 miles. Distance gained of [over?] our route of last year 16 miles.

Aug 22nd

Left camp late, the Capt with six men went to the Forks⁶⁷ we started led off by Lt. Grier for the Lizard with orders to proceed due West. the trail was not a straight one by any means. about 2 P. M. we struck a well brooked stream, and this the only character of the Lizard, that I could not discover. the Capt came up in a couple of hours after we got into camp,

⁶⁴ The journal-keeper is in error here. This chain of lakes includes Mud, High, and Swan lakes, where the dragoons used the pontoon wagon often and effectively in 1844. *Ibid.*, 65-6.

⁶⁵ Medium Lake in Palo Alto County.

⁶⁶ Near the present site of Humboldt.

⁶⁷ The confluence of the East and West Forks of the Des Moines River.

and he was somewhat disgusted at our position, we being lower down than he wished.⁶⁸ some say we are 12 miles from the Des Moines river. if that be the case we are sufficiently far for any useful purpose. we saw three Deer. Distance marched 15 miles but we ought to have come it in 10 miles this owing to Lt. Grier not seeing straight.⁶⁹

Aug 23rd

The Camp made by Lt Grier not suiting the Capt, he struck tents and put out this morning. to his surprise and my own too, we found we were about 12 miles up the lizard above our old camp of last year. two of the Corporals lost Holcomb and Batty. we encamped at the place w[h]ere we crossed the lizard last year about 2. P. M.⁷⁰

Aug 24th

Rested to day. Hunting all the go. Mason killed two turkies yesterday and I three pheasants and a grouse. all hands put out. the result of the days sport is not known to me. I killed two turkies. Tom Lt Noble's servant two more, and Mason, Mr Tyndalls servant a pheasant and duck. one or two bee trees found. the two corporals returned and reported that they had been lost, had seen buffalo, and Elk. Elk signs in abundance about our camp.

Aug 25th

Left our camp early, crossed the Lizard, and marched about 22 miles, encamped nearly opposite the East Fork of the Des Moines.⁷¹ No Game seen or killed.

Aug 26th

Left camp early this morning. Lt Noble and a party of men Detached by Capt Allen, to hunt up a party of Citizens, that were supposed to be located somewhere on the Des Moines River. Noble joined us at Bluff

⁶⁸ Near Clare, in Webster County. Capt. Allen does not seem to have shared the journal-keeper's desire to hurry back to Fort Des Moines. Capt. Sumner had reached Fort Atkinson with Company B, on August 19. The number of diversions, rest stops, and hunting trips made by Company I along the way are unexplained except for the August 26 entry.

⁶⁹ This criticism was directed at an officer who later was cited for bravery at the Battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales in the Mexican War, and at the Battle of Williamsburg in 1862. See Powell (comp.), *List of Officers* . . . , 342.

⁷⁰ Near what is now Fort Dodge.

⁷¹ Actually, the confluence of the Boone and Des Moines rivers. Another dragoon, Lieut. Albert Miller Lea, marked the Boone by its present name on his 1836 map. Potter's map favored the "East Fork" title, however.

Creek,⁷² where we found a large flock of Turkeys, and spent about 3 hours in making a road up the Bluff. encamped on the head of a small ravine well supplied with good water. Course S.E.S. Distance 12 miles.

Aug 27th

Left our encampment early, the weather still continuing beautiful. several men went out hunting on the Des Moines and reported they had met a party of Indians. Game in abundance but none of any account killed. encamped on Beaver River. Course E.S.E. Distance 28 miles.

Aug 28th

The camp was all bustle and activity long before day. flippers and Pork stake Dough nuts and coffee were the order of the day. Breakfast over by the first light of morning, all in anticipation of an early arrival at the Garrison. Crossed the Beaver or rather the bed of it, for it was quite dry. had a heavy fog for about an hour. arrived at Fort Des Moines about 11. A.M. we were met by the infantry officers of the Fort. Lt. Potter looking more like a wild *Boudoin* galloping his horse with a bottle of Liquor in his hand, than an Officer in the U. S. Army. Lt. Granger was also in *high spirits*.⁷³ the Command was greeted by a shout of joy on their arrival, from Co F. 1st Infantry. every one of Co I enjoyed the best of health, their embrowned visages, from exposure to the weather, made a striking contrast with those pale and sickly faces of the men that remained in Garrison during the summer.⁷⁴

⁷² Potter's map placed Bluff Creek about nine miles below the mouth of Lizard Creek.

⁷³ Lieut. Robert Granger, a United States Military Academy graduate of 1838 and classmate of P. G. T. Beauregard. Potter and Granger were assigned to the Fort Des Moines detachment of Company F, First Infantry.

⁷⁴ The return of troops from an expedition usually occasioned a celebration at the frontier posts. In 1844, when the First Dragoons returned to Fort Leavenworth, Lieut. Carleton recorded the scene. "We were met by the Band, and the whole column entered the square from the North-west sally-port, and wheeled into line upon the exact spot where, forty-one days before, it had taken up its march for the prairies. Like a ship's coming home from sea, the first fifteen minutes were nothing but shaking of hands and how-d'-doing, right and left. Everybody glad—everybody smiling—all happy. Ah, it's fun to come home from a campaign. . . . I hold that such are among the really happiest moments that one ever experiences." Carleton, *Prairie Logbooks*, 149-50.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The American Association for State and Local History has given the Society an Award of Merit: "For continuing its remarkable membership growth for the fourth consecutive year; for pictorializing its publications while maintaining their traditional scholarship; for increasing ten-fold the institutional membership of Iowa schools; for increasing the use of its published materials by school children; and for sponsoring overland historical tours and steamboat excursions with ever larger membership participation." The Award was made at the October, 1952, annual meeting at Houston, Texas. An Award was also given to the Iowa City *Press-Citizen* for "outstanding service in encouraging the publicizing and preserving of local, regional, and state history; and for developing unusual historical features in its columns."

The Society has purchased the valuable microfilm of the famous Draper Collection from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. This collection of pioneer materials, collected by Lyman C. Draper in the nineteenth century, includes the Boone Papers, George Rogers Clark Papers, Simon Kenton Papers, and the John Cleves Symmes Papers. The collection is an invaluable source of Middle Western history.

Guy E. Mack of Storm Lake has presented to the Society some 135 letters written to his father, Edgar E. Mack, during the early 1890's. Edgar E. Mack was chairman of the State Republican Committee during the campaign of 1890, and the letters, written by prominent Republicans of Iowa and the nation, deal with the political campaign of that year. Such contributions are a welcome and valuable addition to the manuscript files of the Society.

Superintendent William J. Petersen has written the introduction to a book on North Tama by Mrs. F. G. Murray of Cedar Rapids, to be called *They Came to North Tama*. The book, which will be published soon, can be ordered through the Traer *Star-Clipper* office at a price of \$3.50 plus 7 cents tax for Iowa residents.

A reunion of members of the Society's steamboat cruises was held in Des Moines at the Hotel Kirkwood on March 29.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

February 14	Addressed Pilgrim Chapter, D.A.R., Iowa City
February 18	Addressed Mount Pleasant Citizenship Assembly
February 19	Addressed Mens Club, First Presbyterian Church, New-ton
February 26	Addressed Iowa City Womens Club
February 28	Addressed College Club of Cedar Rapids
March 9	Addressed See Iowa First Club, Des Moines
March 24	Conducted Amana Tour for Iowa Ladies Legislative League

The following members were elected to membership in the State Historical Society during the months of December, 1952, and January and February, 1953:

<i>Albia</i>	<i>Burlington</i>
C. Henry Clark	Mrs. Harding Polk
<i>Algona</i>	Mrs. L. M. Wilson
Richard D. Palmer	<i>Carlisle</i>
<i>Allison</i>	E. A. Owens
Willard A. Dennis	<i>Cedar Rapids</i>
<i>Alta</i>	Roy Bey
A. R. Browne	Dick Cheverton
<i>Ames</i>	C. L. Decker
Napier Consolidated School	Marvin Fatka
Harry H. Nichols	Miss Blanche P. Hunter
Miss Gladys T. Olson	Loyal Meek
Carl Ringgenberg	Mrs. Frank Pospishil
Guyon C. Whitley	L. Owen Tisdale
<i>Bettendorf</i>	Mrs. Paul V. Wilson
Donald V. Lowe	<i>Centerville</i>
<i>Bonaparte</i>	Hugh I. Johnson
Mrs. Margaret E. Roberts	<i>Charles City</i>
<i>Brooklyn</i>	Mrs. W. A. Youngerman
Mrs. Melissa Roberts	<i>Clear Lake</i>
	Frank R. Ballantyne

Clinton

Mrs. L. M. Coy
Bruce D. Crozier
Mrs. Waldo Mommsen
Miss Ingeborg J. Raun

Council Bluffs

Eugene Rice
Mrs. Minnie G. Scheef

Cresco

Herbert J. Salisbury, Sr.

Creston

E. G. Carlson

Davenport

Louis H. Bender
Ralph Clayton
James G. Noth
T. L. Vinyard

Des Moines

Miss Violet I. Ayers
W. G. Bartholomew
John Bickert
Earl Brill
Mrs. Hattie Brodrick
Merrill Cook
LeRoy Crowley
J. A. Danielson
Don E. Fisher
Mrs. Harry B. Graefe
T. C. Green
George A. Hanrahan
Miss Ruth Hollabaugh
Miss Edith C. Howard
Walter T. Hubler
M. K. Johnson
Dr. Faye Kimberly
Mrs. Margery H. Klier
L. Nevin Lee

Howard Leopold

Miss Vivien McClintock
S. . MacAllister
Paul Mast
Miss Lake E. Mayer
I. W. Meyers
Walter Moeller
Mrs. Fred Moore
O. G. Powell
Russell Reynolds
R. J. Shank
Harry I. Story
Ben A. Webster
Dan A. Williams
George Willoughby

Dubuque

Alvin H. Boettcher
Andrew Frommelt
M. L. Kapp
Edward Lorenz

Elkader

Arthur Johnson

Estherville

Estherville Junior High School

Fort Dodge

Mrs. S. H. Cox
William Darrah
Miss Kathleen Nugent
Miss Louise Sinning

George

Rev. Irwin Hayenga

Gilmore City

Miss Esther McBride

Gladbrook

Kenneth Gethmann
A. C. West

Gowrie

Miss Hilda E. Sandberg

Grimes

Mrs. Wilma Collins

Grinnell

Jack Crosson

Elmer S. Iverson

Dr. F. E. Munger

R. E. Sorensen

Hampton

Dr. Richard T. Day

Independence

William M. Walker

Iowa City

John Cronk

Mrs. Jessie B. Gunnette

Mrs. J. R. Heffern

Robert J. Libby

E. R. Means

Jefferson

Earl L. Henderson

Keosauqua

Craig Ruby

Keystone

Rev. A. W. Brauer

Mrs. Earl M. Leimberer

Kiron

C. B. Larson

Knoxville

Marion County School System

Mrs. Watson Rankin

Laurel

H. M. Cavell

Letts

Richard A. McDaniel

Logan

Mrs. James R. Buckley

Mrs. Harriett Dunlap

G. Burton Kelly

Manchester

Donald Potter

John E. Tyrrell, M. D.

Elmer R. Widner

Jas. R. Wilson

Manilla

Frank Means

Manly

R. A. Culver

Manly Junior High School

Manning

Henry E. Meyers

Marble Rock

Maynard L. Reed

Marion

Mrs. Catherine Monn

Mason City

Sid Bowen

Glenwood Buchanan

Walter J. Walker

Lloyd G. Whipple

Mechanicsville

W. J. Tjaden

Melbourne

L. J. Wallace

Melvin

George Wachtel

Monona

Arthur A. Sauegling

Mrs. Frederick W. Truax

Montezuma

Mrs. Frank M. Riggle

Moorland

Moorland Consolidated School

Mount Ayr

Mrs. Irene Hood
Mrs. J. Earl Horne
Arthur S. Palmer
Miss Myrta A. Shannon
Miss Eva F. Stahl

Mount Pleasant

Mrs. Donna Hoaglin

Mount Vernon

Mrs. Eloise Notbohm
Mrs. Louisa Shotwell

Muscatine

Fred Gettert
George W. Meerdink

Newton

Miss Charity Brom
Miss Frances Coffee
P. J. Jepson
Miss Mabel Morris
M. B. Nelson
Mrs. Henry Schmidt
Robert L. Smith

Olin

Gerald D. Kruse

Orange City

James A. Treneman

Oskaloosa

Larry R. Peterson

Ottumwa

Baxter R. Smith

Oxford

Mrs. Vincent F. Grabin

Persia

William Darrington

Plainfield

Rev. Robert Davies

Pocahontas

O. P. Malcolm

Pomeroy

Pomeroy High School

Promise City

Miss Amy Robertson

Radcliffe

Noble M. Johnson

Renwick

Edward Oppedahl

Riceville

C. C. Pearce

Rockford

Rockford Public Library

Rockwell

Mrs. Jessie B. Piersol
Sacred Heart Academy
Mrs. Evan Smith

Roland

Henry Birkeland

Salem

H. T. Pittman

Sioux Center

Ross K. Vernon

Sioux City

A. Bert Erickson
Lum Nelson

Spencer

V. R. Ewing

Stanwood

Mrs. Harry Klahn
Richard Klahn

Storm Lake

Wendel Pendleton

Tabor

A. S. Bloedel

Tiffin

Mrs. Ella Neitderhisar

Van Horne

Rev. Norman Rothe

Vinton

Rev. Raymond W. Fechner

Mrs. W. E. Holland

Mrs. Douglas T. Smith

Viola

Victor P. Collins

Washington

Mrs. Winnie Beiter

Miss Esther White

Waterloo

Dr. Charles A. Boatman

Walter Obele

Leo Roof

Martin E. Smith

Waterloo Schools

West Bend

Frank Koch

West Des Moines

Mrs. Ella Richards

Westside

H. P. Jessen

What Cheer

M. N. Brown

Williams

Henry O. Hill

Williamsburg

Ralph H. Matheson

Rev. Enno Schuelke

Winthrop

Vlis Hekel

Woodbine

Woodbine High School

Arkansas

Ira Stetzel, Paris

California

Mrs. Mamie T. Blumenstock,
Garberville

Richard F. Davison, Los Angeles

Dr. Ralph L. Irwin, Los Angeles

E. R. Moen, Cupertino

R. B. Newcom, Santa Ana

Mrs. Emma F. Peebles,
Los Angeles

Mrs. L. R. Ross, Long Beach

Illinois

Norval Hodges, Urbana

David R. Kendell, La Grange

John B. Rigler, Chicago

Mrs. F. E. Schmidt, Chicago

Kansas

Ellsworth Sherman, Garden City

Missouri

A. P. Greenfelder, St. Louis

New Jersey

Dr. W. Otis Teeters, River Edge

New York

Mrs. Walter Deems, New York

Russell W. Fridley, New York

James R. Hare, Whitestone

Scott A. Mills, New York

Jerome C. Strong, New York

Ohio

James E. Easton, Canton

Virginia

Mrs. L. C. Streater, Alexandria

Washington

Mrs. Maude L. Wheeler,
East Sound

Wisconsin

R. M. Dyer, Wisconsin Dells

Wyoming

Paul Schroeder, Douglas

*Germany*Westdeutsche Bibliothek,
Marburg Lahn

The following persons were elected as life members:

Dubuque

Thomas B. Roshek

Sioux City

A. D. Clem

District of Columbia

Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower

New York

Herbert Hoover, New York

Iowa Historical Activities

The centennials of Iowa towns began twenty years ago when the Mississippi River cities commemorated 100 years of existence. Today centennials are being observed in the northern and western parts of the state, indicating the progress of settlement a century ago. Marshalltown will observe its centennial July 2-5; Waukon, July 3-5; Eldora, June 25-27; Nevada and Story County, special events from February through June; Mason City, June 7-14; Clarinda, week of May 31; Lamont, June 21-23; St. Ansgar, in June; Montgomery County, August 23-29. Sioux City and Algona are already working on plans for their 1954 centennials.

The Guthrie County Historical Society re-elected the following officers at its annual meeting on January 10, 1953: Bert Culver, president; Mrs. Jessie Batschelet, vice-president; Mrs. Gladys Kasner, secretary-treasurer. Miss Elizabeth Whitman and Ray Cook were elected board members.

At a meeting of the Linn County Historical Society on February 18, 1953, Miss Martha Griffith talked on "The History of the Czechs in Cedar Rapids."

Three directors were chosen by the Wright County Historical Society at its meeting February 27, 1953: Mrs. J. H. Munnis, B. A. Samson, and Cornelius Thompson. A feature of the meeting was the showing of films of early 4-H club work. These films have been contributed to the Society by O. H. Benson, the founder of the 4-H movement.

Jefferson, Iowa, has been chosen by the French magazine, *Realites*, for a feature on life in a typical Middle Western town which will be part of a special edition of the magazine devoted to the United States. A photogra-

pher and writers visited Jefferson during April to obtain pictures and information for the article.

Other Historical Activities

Agricultural History, the quarterly journal of the Agricultural History Society, will be published in the future at the University of Wisconsin, under the editorship of Vernon Carstensen of the history faculty. The quarterly has heretofore been published at Washington, D. C., and edited by the late Everett E. Edwards of the United States Department of Agriculture.

At the annual Founders Day on January 31, 1953, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin announced that the D. C. Everest Award for an outstanding work in Wisconsin economic history went to Robert S. Hunt for his book, *Law and Early Wisconsin Railroads*.

The 104th annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, held April 1, 1953, saluted the 50th anniversary of the historic flight of the Wright brothers. Speakers on this occasion, dedicated to aviation history, were L. L. Schroeder, commissioner of the Minnesota Department of Aeronautics; General Harold R. Harris, president of the Northwest Airlines; and Ralph H. Upson, professor of aeronautical engineering at the University of Minnesota. The latest project of the Minnesota Historical Society is the collection of reminiscences and records of aviation in Minnesota.

Awards of Merit were voted by the American Association for State and Local History at its 1952 meeting in Houston for the following books "making the greatest contribution to state and local history": *Mirror to America: A History of New London, N. H., 1900-1950*, by J. Duane Squires; *Railroading in New Jersey*, by John T. Cunningham; *History of La Crosse [Wisconsin]*, by Albert H. Sanford, Harry J. Hirschheimer, and Robert Fries; *Spindletop*, by James A. Clark and Mitchel T. Halbouty; *Grand Portage*, by Walter O'Meara; *The Black Hills*, by Roderick Peattie; *Edmund Pendleton*, by David J. Mays; *Lewis Cass, the Last Jeffersonian*, by Frank B. Woodford; and *Mesabi Pioneer: Reminiscences of Edmund J. Longyear*, edited by Grace Lee Nute.

The Minnesota Historical Society has received a valuable addition to their manuscript collection in the discovery of papers dealing with the famous

Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1805. Some of the papers, found in an old desk belonging to Mrs. Burnside Foster, are those of Captain William Clark himself, and have notations by his colleague, Meriwether Lewis. There are 67 pieces of manuscript in the collection, dating from December, 1803, to April, 1805. Dr. Harold D. Cater, director of the Minnesota society, says the papers represent the long-sought missing portion of the Lewis and Clark journals. The papers were given to the Society by Mrs. Foster's daughter, Mrs. Vaclav Vytlacil of Sparkill, New York. The papers originally belonged to her grandfather, General John H. Hammond.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Kenneth W. Porter is a senior associate with the Business History Foundation of Forest Hills, New York.

Robert Rutland is research associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

IOWA

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WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

Superintendent

and Editor

MILDRED THRONE

Associate

Editor

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COVER

The Grand Review at Washington, May 24, 1865. General W. T. Sherman's troops marching down Pennsylvania Avenue. From *Harper's Weekly*, June 10, 1865.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA 1951-1953

By William J. Petersen

Once more it is a pleasure to report solid progress for the State Historical Society of Iowa during the biennium 1951-1953. It has shown a net membership increase of over seven hundred. Its publication program has been continued on the same high plane that has characterized its work for over half a century. Its publications can be found in every college and tax-supported library in the state, while almost every first rate high school and junior high school has taken out an institutional membership in the Society. From a small beginning five years ago its historical tours have grown in popularity and have actually attracted national attention. As a result, during the past biennium the Society has won numerous awards and recognition. It has continued to merit the friendly support of the General Assembly, and in general it has maintained a gratifying progress in all areas of its activities.

MEMBERSHIP GROWTH

In my last report I indicated that the membership of the Society had increased from 60 at the time the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS was established in 1903 to 978 when *The Palimpsest* was founded in 1920. By 1940 membership had risen to 1,560. During the next seven years the membership declined to 1,121; of these 683 were active members and 438 were life members. At that time the historical societies of the five states of the Upper Mississippi Valley ranked as follows in active and life membership combined: Missouri—4,312; Wisconsin—2,343; Illinois—1,682; Minnesota—1,674; Iowa—1,121.

In 1947, it will be remembered, one-third of our counties had two or less members — and six counties actually had no members at all. Your Superintendent and Board of Curators promptly adopted new policies and formulated broader objectives. The first objective, it was felt, should be a state historical society with a more evenly distributed membership. The compilation on page 195 reveals rather graphically the growth our Society has enjoyed over the past three bienniums.

This represents the greatest increase of any Society in the United States over the past six years. The following figures on our neighboring societies in the Upper Mississippi Valley are significant:

<i>Historical Society</i>	1947	1953	<i>Yearly Dues</i>	<i>Population 1950</i>
Missouri	4,312	6,300	\$1.00	3,954,653
Wisconsin	2,343	3,413	\$3.50	3,434,575
Illinois	1,682	3,574	\$2.00	8,712,176
Minnesota	1,674	2,662	\$4.00	2,982,483
Iowa	1,121	4,452	\$3.00	2,621,073

During the past six years our Society registered gains in active as well as life memberships. The following figures should be gratifying to all who are interested in a broader dissemination of Iowa history:

Iowa's Increase in Active and Life Members

	1947	1949	1951	1953
Active Members	683	1,749	3,095	3,776
Life Members	438	545	614	676
<hr/>				
Total Members	1,121	2,294	3,709	4,452
Net Gain	—	1,171	1,344	743
Total Membership				
30 lowest counties	80	146	306	288
Average Membership				
30 lowest counties	2.6	4.9	10.2	9.6

Two years ago we set our 1953 goal at 4,250 members; we have actually exceeded this goal by 202, our membership now standing at 4,452. If our members will only continue their warm support of our program we should continue to register substantial gains. Here is our "Past Membership" and "Future Goals":

Past Membership

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Life</i>	<i>Total</i>
1947.....	683	438	1,121
1949.....	1,749	545	2,294
1951.....	3,095	614	3,709
1953.....	3,771	676	4,452

Future Goals

1955.....	4,000	700	4,700
1957.....	4,500	725	5,225
1959.....	5,000	750	5,750

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Membership Gains by County, 1947-1953

County	1947	1949	1951	1953	County	1947	1949	1951	1953
Polk	127	186	315	420	Mills	5	9	18	21
Johnson	123	202	285	328	Greene	4	11	22	20
Linn	81	101	204	271	Hardin	4	8	15	20
Scott	90	152	197	226	Pocahontas	8	9	25	19
Black Hawk	48	93	138	160	Palo Alto	4	9	17	19
Cerro Gordo ...	15	20	57	76	Cherokee	4	12	16	19
Dubuque	25	46	71	75	Sioux	2	9	15	19
Muscatine	8	22	71	75	Butler	4	6	18	18
Washington	18	30	64	75	O'Brien	5	18	18	18
Clinton	17	36	71	72	Allamakee	8	10	16	18
Wapello	14	44	60	67	Van Buren	2	9	14	18
Iowa	15	38	68	66	Harrison	2	2	7	18
Lee	20	43	58	65	Osceola	1	9	16	17
Benton	13	23	52	65	Calhoun	4	7	12	16
Jasper	5	14	30	62	Wright	5	9	16	16
Des Moines	19	36	56	61	Marion	9	9	14	15
Story	12	20	45	55	Buena Vista	0	6	16	14
Cedar	10	26	42	55	Lyon	1	11	14	14
Pottawattamie ..	16	23	46	49	Union	2	6	14	14
Clayton	5	10	29	48	Winneshiek	5	7	14	14
Louisa	8	24	25	46	Taylor	3	6	15	13
Tama	3	15	40	44	Warren	3	4	11	13
Webster	5	31	39	43	Monona	5	5	9	13
Keokuk	12	17	35	40	Worth	2	2	8	13
Poweshiek	6	11	25	39	Winnebago	0	4	7	13
Hamilton	7	12	30	38	Crawford	4	6	12	12
Kossuth	4	24	29	37	Hancock	4	7	12	12
Woodbury	14	21	30	36	Shelby	4	5	12	11
Marshall	14	18	33	35	Sac	3	7	11	11
Cass	8	30	34	33	Adair	0	4	10	11
Page	6	13	31	33	Ringgold	2	5	9	11
Buchanan	7	13	27	31	Emmet	1	11	11	10
Jefferson	12	23	30	30	Plymouth	4	10	8	10
Mahaska	8	14	45	30	Madison	0	5	13	9
Delaware	1	15	19	29	Monroe	2	5	10	9
Boone	3	18	25	28	Clarke	1	10	9	9
Fayette	6	9	25	28	Guthrie	5	7	9	9
Jones	8	17	23	28	Lucas	3	4	9	9
Jackson	4	5	22	28	Audubon	0	9	10	8
Grundy	8	21	30	27	Franklin	4	7	10	9
Humboldt	2	9	19	27	Adams	3	5	6	8
Henry	9	11	23	26	Howard	1	1	8	8
Appanoose	8	12	39	25	Fremont	2	12	11	8
Montgomery ...	8	18	28	25	Ida	5	5	7	7
Carroll	5	15	23	25	Chickasaw	2	4	6	7
Clay	2	16	21	23	Decatur	0	9	9	6
Dickinson	6	32	28	22	Davis	2	2	6	5
Bremer	7	10	21	22	Mitchell	4	6	4	5
Dallas	9	16	19	22	Wayne	4	6	4	5
Floyd	1	7	11	22					

There is still plenty of opportunity for our members to increase our representation, particularly in the weaker counties in the state. While it is true that two-thirds of our 99 counties have registered gains and a dozen more have remained unchanged, 20 counties have sustained a loss. Most of these counties lost only one or two members, but Appanoose and Mahaska, both in the coal mining area, actually suffered real reversals. Furthermore, in studying the 30 lowest counties we find for the first time a slight decline — from 306 to 288 members. This loss in itself would not be so bad if it were not for the over-all gains of 700 members for all 99 counties. One cannot help noticing that Polk and Johnson counties have more members than the thirty lowest counties, and Linn County has almost as many. It is also interesting to observe that the 6 leading counties gained 285 members during the biennium while the total membership of the 30 lowest counties stands at only 288. These comparisons must be qualified by the fact that Polk County has 420 members and a population of 225,000. Actually, while many rural counties are down in membership representation, compared with the average for the state, there are some metropolitan areas that make a miserable showing. For example, Hamilton and Poweshiek counties, each with 19,000 population, can count more members than Woodbury County with a population of 103,000.

During the next two years I would like to see our members concentrate particularly on the counties in the second column on page 195. Strenuous efforts should be made to have every county in Iowa have a membership equal to one member for every 1,000 population. If this is done we can readily achieve our 1955 membership goal without any increase in the counties in the first column on page 195. Exceptions of course should be made to Woodbury and Pottawattamie, the former having the weakest comparative membership in the entire state.

PUBLICATIONS

During the past two years *The Palimpsest* and the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY have appeared regularly. Our monthly magazine continues to receive such heavy demands for extra copies that each year more than 100,000 copies are being printed. Indeed, the 54,000 copies printed of the September, 1952, issue not only set a record for our own Society but doubtless has never been matched by any other Society. An additional 10,000 copies have been printed of the Amana issue, bringing the total to 25,000 since it

appeared in June, 1950. Cornell College ordered 11,500 extra copies of the April, 1953, issue, while the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs took 3,000 extra copies of the May, 1953, number of *The Palimpsest*. The wide variety of subjects treated during the biennium is indicated by the following:

The Palimpsest

1951	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
July	The Minneapolis & St. Louis Railway	Frank P. Donovan, Jr.
August	Prehistoric Indians of Iowa	Charles Reuben Keyes
Sept.	Iowa in 1950	Kenneth F. Millsap
October	The Gate City of Iowa	Frederic C. Smith
Nov.	Hoover in Iowa	Herbert Hoover, Mildred Throne, and W. J. Petersen
Dec.	Frontier Journalism	Thomas E. Tweito

1952	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
January	The Burlington & Missouri River Railroad in Iowa	Mildred Throne
February	The University Museum of Natural History	Homer R. Dill
March	The Battleship <i>Iowa</i>	William J. Petersen
April	The Presbyterians in Iowa	Frederick I. Kuhns
May	Builders of the Hawkeye State	William J. Petersen
June	The Evangelical and Reformed Church in Iowa	Frederick I. Kuhns
July	The Hog in Iowa	Elvin Lee Quaife and Arthur L. Anderson
August	Johnson Brigham	Luella M. Wright
Sept.	The W. A. Sheaffer Pen Co.	William J. Petersen
October	Iowa and the Presidential Election of 1912	Mildred Throne
Nov.	Iowa in 1951	Robert Rutland
Dec.	The Jones County Calf Case	Jasper H. Ramsey

1953	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
January	The 54th General Assembly of Iowa	Frank T. Nye
February	The Boy Scouts of Iowa	Jacob A. Swisher

March	Ralph Shannon of the <i>Journal</i>	William J. Petersen, Ralph Shannon, and Robert Rutland
April	The History of Cornell College	Marjorie Medary
May	Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs	Hazel P. Buffum
June	The Chicago Great Western Railway	Frank P. Donovan, Jr.

Iowa Journal of History

During the same period our quarterly magazine has stood at the forefront among the documented publications issued by state historical societies. It has published a wide variety of articles that have attracted widespread interest among our membership. The following monographs and documents have appeared during the biennium:

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Article</i>	<i>Author</i>
July, 1951	"The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1949-1951"	W. J. Petersen
	"The Cummins-Cannon Controversy of 1909"	W. W. Braden
October, 1951	"The Education of John A. Kasson"	E. Younger
	"Life on a Jones County Farm, 1873-1912"	M. E. Jarchow
January, 1952	"Local Aid to Railroads in Iowa"	E. S. Beard
	"Iowa Reactions to Wendell Phillips, 1867"	W. W. Braden
April, 1952	"Chautauqua in Iowa"	H. J. Thornton
	"Social Life of an Iowa Farm Family, 1873-1912"	M. E. Jarchow
July, 1952	"The Keokuk Packet Company"	W. J. Petersen
	"Southern Iowa Agriculture, 1865-1870"	Mildred Throne
	"Ben Samuels in the Democratic National Convention of 1860"	Owen Peterson
October, 1952	"The Rise of John A. Kasson in Iowa Politics, 1857-1859"	E. Younger
	"William B. Allison's First Term in Congress, 1863-1865"	L. L. Sage
January, 1953	"The Background of Railroad Regulation in Iowa"	E. S. Beard

	"Religion on the Iowa Frontier to 1846"	F. I. Kuhns
April, 1953	"The Repeal of the Iowa Granger Law, 1878"	Mildred Throne
	"A Little Girl on an Iowa Forty, 1873-1880 — Catharine Wiggins Porter"	K. W. Porter
<i>Issue</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Editor</i>
July, 1951	"Across the Plains in 1863: Diary of Peter Winne"	R. G. Athearn
	"Excerpts from the Civil War Diary of Lieutenant Charles Alley, Company 'C,' Fifth Iowa Cavalry"	J. S. Ezell
January, April, July, and Oc- tober, 1952	"Civil War Diary of C. F. Boyd, Fifteenth Iowa Infantry"	Mildred Throne
January, 1953	"A Journal of the First Dragoons in the Iowa Territory, 1844"	Robert Rutland
April, 1953	"The Dragoons in the Iowa Territory, 1845"	Robert Rutland

In addition, from time to time there appears in the JOURNAL, under the heading "Source Material of Iowa History," a reprint of some document or newspaper story which is self-explanatory and does not need formal editing. Those published during the past biennium are: "The Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road," the 1850-1853 records of the organization of one of Iowa's many "paper railroads" (July, 1951); and "Adventures of Geo. A. Tod, an Iowa Drummer Boy in Rebel Prisons at Cahawba and Andersonville," taken from the Fort Dodge *North West* of January 10 and 17, 1865 (October, 1951). Other such reprints from old papers and documents will appear from time to time, as space allows.

Special mention should be made of "The Civil War Diary of C. F. Boyd, Fifteenth Iowa Infantry," which appeared in four consecutive issues of the IOWA JOURNAL during 1952 under the able editing of Dr. Mildred Throne, Associate Editor of the Society. This graphic Civil War diary of a citizen soldier has won enthusiastic praise from the membership and has been widely acclaimed by scholars and experts on Civil War history. James W. Holland, Regional Historian for the National Park Service, declared: "The Boyd Diary is one of the very best of its kind I have ever seen and it is

beautifully edited. I can think of only one Shiloh source which can rival it for graphic quality." Albert Dillahunt, Historian of the Shiloh National Military Park, wrote: "All of us who have read the diary think the material is excellent. The splendid work in editing the diary has done much to increase its interest and value as a reference." Another outstanding authority on the Civil War, Professor Bell I. Wiley of Emory University, Georgia, declared: "It is a fascinating document. The account of the organization and training of the unit is delightful, and the narrative of Shiloh is exciting and rich."

Members Should Be on Alert for Diaries and Journals

While journals as outstanding as the Boyd Diary are uncovered only once in a generation, it might be pointed out that this diary was in the process of publishing within six months after it was acquired. We have a great need for documents of this type, but the need is even greater for the diaries and journals of private citizens in every walk of life. Farm diaries, the diaries and records of business and professional men, the records that may have been kept by a grocer, a blacksmith, a locksmith, a carpenter, a bricklayer, or a common laborer — all these have value in unfolding the Iowa story. It is not too early to alert Iowans that the records of their sons and daughters in World War I and World War II, as well as in present-day Korea, may have real value to posterity. Not one in 100 such diaries might achieve the lasting recognition of the Boyd Diary, but that one can be very important. Furthermore the cumulative value and importance of other smaller diaries cannot be overemphasized. Members should think twice before they allow some valuable fugitive manuscript to be destroyed.

Two Books Issued During Biennium

During the biennium two books have been published by the Society. Petersen's *Iowa History Reference Guide* is an invaluable tool for the historian, the librarian, the teacher, and the casual student of Iowa history. Members of the Society will find it comparatively simple to find the answers to many questions by simply consulting the *Reference Guide*. Judging by the letters coming to the Superintendent's desk, some members do not realize they have such a mine of information at their finger tips. Many others, happily enough, have spent illuminating hours thumbing through the *Guide*. Patriotic organizations and study clubs have found the book of real value in preparing their programs.

A second volume was in the bindery as the biennium came to a close on June 30, 1953. This was John Nollen's *Grinnell College* which was distributed to the membership in July, 1953. Written by one of Iowa's outstanding educators, this handsome volume contains much valuable information, not only on higher education, but on the Dutch at Pella, the Iowa Band and Congregationalism in Iowa, and student life at the University of Iowa. During the coming biennium members will receive at least two and possibly three books.

In addition to the above, the Society has issued regularly its *News for Members* and sent out copies of *Iowa History News Flashes*. The former aims to keep members alert on the activities of the Society. It has been responsible for bringing many valuable manuscripts and books into our possession. It is equally significant in chronicling the development of the Society. The history of our organization will be easier to record since *News for Members* first appeared in 1947. *Iowa History News Flashes* goes out to 550 newspaper editors, providing them with feature articles and fillers for their papers. It has been widely used and helps bring Iowa history down to the very grass roots.

THE LIBRARY

From time to time in *News for Members* we have endeavored to give our members some idea of the extent of our library resources. The following figures are impressive:

	1951	1953
Books	70,000	74,270
Pamphlets	29,000	29,305
Newspapers	6,000	6,500

During the past two years 4,015 books have been accessioned compared with 3,380 books accessioned for the biennium 1949-1951. If this rate is maintained during the next fifteen years, the Society library will contain over 100,000 volumes compared with only 74,270 in 1953. An increase of this magnitude means that adequate shelving space must be provided to house such acquisitions.

Recataloguing of Library Completed

It is pleasant to record that the work of recataloguing our books from the Dewey decimal to the Library of Congress system has been virtually com-

pleted. This task has been in progress for ten years and has been pushed steadily since 1948 when the work was about two-thirds done. The recataloging began under Dr. Jean P. Black (July, 1943, to August, 1946) and was continued under Mary Elizabeth Sparks (December, 1946, to March, 1948). The recataloging was carried to completion by Mrs. Adelaide Seemuth beginning in April, 1948. The magnitude of this task can be seen from the following figures:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Books Recatalogued</i>	<i>Cards Typed and Filed</i>
1948 (April–December)	2,825	10,000 (approx.)
1949	5,529	10,000 “
1950	5,575	12,162
1951	4,065	14,216
1952	4,025	8,201
1953 (January–June)	2,730	10,283
	<hr/> 24,749	<hr/> 64,862

Although no exact records were kept under Dr. Black and Miss Sparks, it is clear from the work completed under Mrs. Seemuth (24,749 books recatalogued and 64,862 cards typed and filed) that our library catalog now contains approximately 200,000 cards beautifully cross-referenced to afford maximum research value to our staff, graduate students, visiting historians, and the public generally.

County Plat Books and Atlases

One of the most spectacular gains has been made in our holdings of county plat books and atlases. In December, 1951, your Superintendent called attention to the fact that our Society library had only 30 counties out of the 99 represented in this collection. Members promptly and wholeheartedly rallied behind this campaign with amazing and highly gratifying results. A year and a half later, in June, 1953, we can report 87 of our Iowa counties represented by one or more plat books and atlases in our library. The counties still not represented in our collection are:

Adams	Jefferson
Cedar	Lucas
Cherokee	Osceola
Franklin	Palo Alto
Hardin	Taylor
Harrison	Wayne

The above record in itself would be electrifying to most librarians. It should be pointed out, however, that the gain is even more impressive than indicated when we remember that copies for different years have been received for numerous counties. Since it would be ideal from the standpoint of research and reference if we could space these atlases about twenty years apart, our final objective should be to have counties represented by atlases for around 1880, 1900, 1920, 1940, and perhaps one for the present. This would mean 99 counties represented by approximately 500 different plat books and atlases. At the present time we have 87 counties represented by a total of 135 plat books and atlases. I hope that in 1955 our biennial report will indicate every county represented by at least one plat book and atlas and that most of them will be represented by two or more different copies. The following list is of counties now represented. The number immediately after the county refers to the publisher listed below; the date refers to the year in which our book was published. Members can check their own holdings against this list.

Adair 20 (1917)	Davis 16 (1912)
Allamakee 19 (1886)	Decatur N. P. (1952)
Appanoose 34 (1915)	Delaware 23 (1894); 24 (1936)
Audubon 36 (1930)	Des Moines 2 (1873)
Benton 8 (1872); 19 (1885); 16 (1901); 1 (1917)	Dickinson 16 (1911)
Black Hawk 21 (1910)	Dubuque 15 (1892); 14 (1906); 25 (N. D.)
Boone 11 (1902)	Emmet 39 (1947)
Bremer 9 (1875); 16 (1917)	Fayette 18 (1896); 16 (1916); 25 (1938)
Buchanan 19 (1866)	Floyd 37 (1913); 35 (1952)
Buena Vista 16 (1908)	Fremont 15 (1891); 1 (1910); 32 (1920)
Butler 18 (1895); 1 (1917)	Greene 15 (1896)
Calhoun 16 (1911); 22 (1920)	Grundy 21 (1911)
Carroll 14 (1906)	Guthrie 22 (1917)
Cass 1 (1917)	Hamilton 16 (1918); 24 (1937)
Cedar (badly damaged)	Hancock 37 (1914)
Cerro Gordo 37 (1912); 35 (1952)	Henry 17 (1870); 5 (1895)
Chickasaw 37 (1915)	Howard 40 (1915)
Clarke 22 (1915); N. P. (1951)	Humboldt N. P. (1941); 35 (1952)
Clay 16 (1909); 1 (1919)	Ida 33 (1946)
Clayton 19 (1886); 38 (1914)	Iowa 1 (1917)
Clinton 7 (1874)	Jackson 15 (1893); 6 (1913)
Crawford 16 (1908); 32 (1920)	
Dallas 1 (1916)	

- | | |
|--|---|
| Jasper 12 (1901) | Pocahontas 1 (1918) |
| Johnson 17 (1870); N. P. (1889);
12 (1900); 26 (1917) | Polk 22 (1914) |
| Jones 28 (1877); 15 (1893);
16 (1915); 27 (1921) | Pottawattamie 3 (1913) |
| Keokuk 7 (1874); 4 (1895) | Poweshiek 30 (N. D.) |
| Kossuth 41 (1946) | Ringgold 15 (1894); 48 (1915) |
| Lee 2 (1874); 15 (1897); 16 (1916) | Sac 49 (1951) |
| Linn 29 (1895); 30 (1921) | Scott 12 (1894); 14 (1905);
50 (1941) |
| Louisa 2 (1874); 16 (1917) | Shelby 16 (1911); 32 (1921) |
| Lyon 42 (1911) | Sioux 37 (1908) |
| Madison 31 (1912) | Story 34 (1908) |
| Mahaska 34 (1905) | Tama 7 (1875); 15 (1892);
37 (1916) |
| Marion 10 (1901) | Union 16 (1916) |
| Marshall 43 (1941); 44 (1951) | Van Buren 16 (1918) |
| Mills and Fremont 1 (1910) | Wapello 16 (1908) |
| Mills and Pottawattamie 3 (1913) | Warren 11 (1902); 13 (1903);
34 (1915) |
| Mitchell 37 (1911) | Washington 7 (1874); 14 (1906) |
| Monona 45 (1937) | Webster 35 (1951) |
| Monroe 16 (1919); 46 (1952) | Winnebago 37 (1913) |
| Montgomery 32 (1919); 47 (1949) | Winneshiek 19 (1886); 38 (1915) |
| Muscatine 7 (1874); 1 (1916) | Woodbury 1 (1917) |
| O'Brien 16 (1911) | Worth 37 (1913) |
| Page 1 (1920) | Wright 16 (1912) |
| Plymouth 37 (1914); 32 (1921) | |

1. Anderson Publishing Co., Mason City, Iowa
2. Andreas, A. T., Chicago, Illinois
3. Bee Publishing Co., Omaha, Nebraska
4. Bishop, H. G., Sigourney, Iowa
5. Brooks and Whiting, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa
6. Excelsior Printing Co., Maquoketa, Iowa
7. Harrison and Warner, Clinton, Iowa
8. Harrison and Warner, Marshalltown, Iowa
9. Hoover, H. S., and Reeves, Wm. P., Waverly, Iowa
10. Hovey, Arthur M., Chicago, Illinois
11. Hovey and Frame, Knoxville, Iowa
12. Huebinger Survey and Map Publishing Co., Davenport, Iowa
13. Indianola Record, Indianola, Iowa
14. Iowa Publishing Co., Davenport, Iowa
15. North West Publishing Co.
16. Ogle, George A., and Co., Chicago, Illinois
17. Thompson and Everts, Geneva, Illinois
18. Union Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

19. Warner and Foote, Minneapolis, Minnesota
20. Successful Farming Pub. Co., Des Moines, Iowa
21. Iowa Publishing Co., Des Moines, Iowa
22. Kenyon Company, Inc. Map Makers, Des Moines, Iowa
23. J. E. Davis
24. Stacy Map Publisher, Rockford, Illinois
25. W. W. Hixon & Co., Rockford, Illinois
26. Economy Advertising Co., Iowa City, Iowa
27. Jones County Times, Monticello, Iowa
28. O. Burlingame
29. S. N. Parsons
30. Midland Map and Engineering Co., Des Moines, Iowa
31. Winterset Madisonian, Winterset, Iowa
32. Anderson Publishing Co., Des Moines, Iowa
33. Maple Valley Map and Publishing Co., Holstein, Iowa
34. Midland Map Co., Knoxville, Iowa
35. Joe C. Johnson Map Co., Mason City, Iowa
36. Advocate-Republican, Audubon, Iowa
37. Anderson Publishing Co., Chicago, Illinois
38. Webb Publishing Co., St. Paul, Minnesota
39. Estherville Daily News, Estherville, Iowa
40. W. H. Lee, Chicago, Illinois
41. Advance Publishing Co., Algona, Iowa
42. Alden Publishing Co., Chicago, Illinois
43. Acme Printing Co., Marshalltown, Iowa
44. Ames Engineering Testing Service, Ames, Iowa
45. Onawa Democrat, Onawa, Iowa
46. Albia Union-Republican, Albia, Iowa
47. Express Publishing Co., Red Oak, Iowa
48. Mount Ayr Record-News, Mount Ayr, Iowa
49. Sac Sun and Odebolt Chronicle, Sac City, Iowa
50. Dickerson Map Service, Rock Island, Illinois

Seek City Directories

Members are urged to assist us in a new library campaign, namely, the acquisition of a good cross-section of Iowa city directories. If we could acquire one directory for each decade of a town's history the resulting mass of names concentrated in one place would be of immense value to research. The campaign will be inaugurated in *News for Members*, and we hope two years hence to announce substantial results.

Acquire Draper Collection on Microfilm

Probably the most valuable single addition to our library during the past

two years was the acquisition of a complete microfilm set of the Lyman C. Draper manuscript collection. The original papers are in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and comprise 486 volumes of source materials. Through the cooperative effort of the Wisconsin society and the University of Chicago, the manuscripts were recently microfilmed in order that historians might carry on their work in key libraries nearer their homes.

Draper was a self-taught historian who devoted his life to collecting materials dealing with American history, particularly western history. Draper traveled through the country, interviewing survivors of old Indian wars, seeking lost documents, and transcribing family papers that told the saga of frontier heroes. The history of the American frontier was a magnet which constantly drew him away from intended labor in the field of biography. During his long years (1854-1886) as secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society the collection of source materials was his primary task. Before his death in 1891 he had built this collection into the greatest single mass of Western Americana extant.

As a result of Draper's interest, the collection embraces the papers of such notable frontier figures as Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, and George Rogers Clark. The thirty-eight volumes in the "Life of Boone" and the Boone manuscripts bear testimony to Draper's affection for the frontiersman. Twenty-four volumes are devoted to frontier warfare. Twenty-five volumes relate to the activities of the famous Mohawk Chief, Joseph Brant.

For historians of the Midwest, which was originally the "Northwest Frontier" in American history, the Draper collection offers extensive materials. There are, in addition to the Clark papers, four volumes on General William Henry Harrison, two volumes of Illinois papers dealing with pioneer life in the Sucker State, four volumes of John Cleves Symmes papers, and forty-one volumes of Thomas Spottswood Hinde papers. Thirty-three volumes of Draper's own notes are included in the collection.

To house the Draper Collection, as well as the other microfilm acquisitions of the Society, two compression-type steel microfilm cabinets have been placed in the Society library. These cabinets are equipped with humidity-control drawers designed to preserve the life of the film.

These drawers also contain other microfilm previously acquired by the Society, including the *Chicago Daily Drover's Journal* (1882-1925), a number of early newspapers dating from 1828 to 1859, and early census records, theses, and private papers of prominent figures in nineteenth century Iowa.

All of these materials are now available for research workers, and present plans call for a systematic enlargement of this collection. The ease of handling microfilm, and the tremendous space-saving advantages of film strips over the bulk of newspaper and manuscript files, make a microfilm project particularly urgent for our library, which is faced with a desperate shortage of storage space.

HISTORICAL TOURS

Steamboat Cruises

Our State Historical Society tours have maintained their popularity throughout the biennium and have proved of immeasurable value in increasing the interest of Iowans in the work of the Society. As an organization we are deeply indebted to Commodore O. D. Collis for continuing to make the *Rob Roy III* available to us for annual cruises. Some idea of his contribution can be gleaned from the following figures:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Days</i>	<i>Boats</i>	<i>Passengers Carried</i>
1948	1	1	49
1949	2	2	230
1950	4	1	375
1951	6	1	550
1952	7	1	630
1953	6	1	660
<hr/>			
Grand Total	26		2,494

During the past six years the *Rob Roy III* has transported almost 2,500 members and friends of the Society on 26 regular cruises, and has traveled an average of 70 miles per trip, or a total of 1,820 miles along the eastern border of Iowa. When the final figures are tabulated I believe they will show that approximately one-third of the membership (present and past) have enjoyed these trips and profited greatly from their experiences. These members have come from almost every county in the state and from over 200 different towns. In addition, many members have come from such far-flung points as Maine and Oregon, California and Carolina, Canada and Mexico. Our annual river cruises have done much to stimulate interest in the work of the Society, brought together many Iowans with kindred interests, and cemented friendships that will endure through the years. The trips have also served to dramatize the history of Iowa as it unfolded along its eastern border from the days of the French voyageurs to the towboat era.

Amana Tour for Legislative Wives

During 1951 and 1952 we sponsored a total of thirteen river cruises for 1,180 passengers. No attempt was made in 1952 to repeat the Amana tour of 1951 that had attracted 230 participants. While the General Assembly was in session in Des Moines, however, Dr. and Mrs. William J. Petersen invited members of the Legislative Ladies' League to accompany them on a personally conducted tour of the Amana colonies on March 24. Forty-nine members of the League, led by their president, Mrs. William S. Lynes, and including Mrs. William S. Beardsley, Mrs. Leo Elthon, and four former presidents of the League, made the tour.

At the Homestead Church, Dr. Henry Moershel, president of the Amana Society, set the mood for the entire trip by tracing the religious backgrounds of the Society. After driving through Homestead, the ladies visited the Ehrle home and winery, and then proceeded to the Amana woolen mills where they inspected the mill and made purchases in the salesroom. Every department of the woolen mill was seen, and the ladies left impressed with the complexity of the whole process.

At 12:45 they were luncheon guests of Mr. George Foerstner and the Amana Refrigerator Plant. The ladies were delighted to find an Amana resident serving as host or hostess at each table. After a splendid lunch that was topped off with fritters, the group toured the Refrigerator Plant at Middle and then visited the home of Carl Hahn in the same village. They drove by Amana Lake and saw the cemetery where Christian Metz lies buried. Next they visited the Amana meat market and smoke house, the cabinet shop, and the home of William Noe, treasurer of the Society.

The members of the LLL left Amana at four o'clock and were back in Des Moines at six, loaded down with Amana bread, meat, woolens, and souvenirs. The trip followed much the same pattern as those previously conducted for members of the State Historical Society by the Petersens.

The enthusiasm for the trip is attested by the fact that fifty members of the Legislative Ladies' League attended an Amana breakfast in the Pioneer Room of the Hotel Kirkwood in Des Moines on April 17. The breakfast included Amana meats and bread, and was followed by a showing of the 1951 motion picture made of Amana for the State Historical Society by Station WOI-TV. Another feature of the breakfast was the showing of kodachrome and stereorealist slides made during the LLL Amana tour.

The reactions of this representative group of ladies hailing from all sec-

tions of the Hawkeye State attest the great need for members of the Society to continue urging the people of Amana to establish an Amana Day, and to prepare for the proper observation of their Centennial.

Towns Recognize Need for Enlarged Activity

During the course of a biennium one gets many ideas and suggestions for enlarging the scope of our work in state and local history. Some of these come directly to the Superintendent, others frequently appear in letters written by interested citizens to editors and printed in newspaper columns. Some suggestions are entirely practical and highly desirable. Some would require a relatively small sum to inaugurate, while others would require a considerable outlay of money. In many instances the writers of these letters have seen good examples of their suggestions in other states, viz.: marking historic spots on highways; making film strips on state history for schools and study clubs; inaugurating a Junior Historian movement; or establishing and encouraging local historical societies. Frequently it is possible to answer such suggestions by personal letter. Sometimes your Superintendent gets an assist from an unexpected source. For example, on July 9, 1953, the Grinnell *Herald-Register* editorialized on "Know Your Iowa History."

Some time ago we received a letter from Mrs. Wm. Molison of Malcom enclosing a clipping of a letter in the Des Moines *Register*, the writer of which deplored the lack of records of Iowa's early history. The writer said that in her effort to do some research work on the subject she had drawn a blank when it came to records prior to 1880 and wanted to know why some one does not form a sons (or daughters) of the early Iowa pioneers and investigate "this profoundly moving and interesting history."

We agree with the writer of this letter that too little is known about the early history of Iowa. A little while ago in a gathering of ordinarily well informed men, the question was asked as to what year Iowa became a state. The general expression of blankness which crept over their faces was illuminating. We were proud that we happened to know the answer to that one, anyhow.

However, we are glad to say that there is one place where the writer of this complaining letter can get all the information she wants. All she needs to do is to write to William J. Petersen, secretary of the Iowa Historical Society at Iowa City, and she will be loaded down with information. Mr. Petersen is so immersed in early Iowa history that it oozes out of his ears. He has written several books on the subject which are most interesting reading to any who are historically minded.

A little while ago it was up to us to write a paper and we took as our subject, "Things You Don't Know About Iowa." We wrote Mr. Petersen and he supplied us with references. The books were available in the Stewart and the college library. One of his books alone, which we believe was entitled *The Story of Iowa*, was a rich treasure house of information which was all new to us. It read like a novel and when we wrote our paper it was as new to our audience as it had been to us.

Mrs. Molison wrote that she had written to the writer of this letter to the Des Moines paper giving her the name of Mr. Petersen and sent her three copies of *The Palimpsest* and one of the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY, and that should have been all that was necessary.

Just because we live in Iowa is no reason for us to think that all the romance and interest of history centers somewhere else. There is plenty of romance in Iowa history if you take the trouble to look for it and to follow in the footsteps of those daring pioneers who braved the trackless wilderness of what is now our cultivated and smiling state and opened the great Mississippi to navigation. . . .

We thank Mrs. Molison for her letter. It opened up new fields of thought. We Iowans should be thankful for a man like Mr. Petersen, who opened up these treasure troves to those who have a mind to seek them. We heard him speak before the Kiwanis club some time ago and since hearing him we have had a new slant on Iowa history.

It is gratifying to me to learn through such an editorial, written months after my appearance before the Grinnell Kiwanis Club, that my little talk on "Dramatic Episodes in Iowa History" had fallen on such fruitful ground. Our Iowa editor is right — Iowa history is dramatic, and for the most part the materials are fairly accessible to interested Iowans. Naturally there are some fields in which there is still much research to be done. The proper marking of our historic highways, the production of film strips telling the story of Iowa, the inauguration of a Junior Historian movement, the activation of local historical societies — these are all highly desirable. But they cost money — for staff, equipment, and travel expense. Some states have set aside thousands of dollars to achieve these highly desirable objectives. It is hoped that Iowa ultimately will be able to join the more enlightened of her sister states in adequately preserving her heritage.

THE MISSISSIPPI & MISSOURI RAILROAD

1856-1860

By Dwight L. Agnew

Iowa's first railroad, the Mississippi and Missouri, or the M & M as it was popularly known, was in effect an extension of the Rock Island road of Illinois. As first planned, the Iowa road was to extend in three directions from Davenport — west to Council Bluffs, southwest toward Missouri, and northwest toward Minnesota. The greatest effort went into the Davenport to Council Bluffs line. The first division, from Davenport to Iowa City, begun in 1853, was completed in dramatic fashion at midnight, December 31, 1855. Meanwhile a branch line had been constructed to Muscatine.¹

The completion of the M & M to Iowa City and Muscatine had seemed to forecast a prosperous future and a speedy extension westward. The political significance as well as the commercial importance of the proposed route was pointed out by one of the Chicago papers when the *Daily Democratic Press* of that city commented: "We propose to the philanthropists in the Eastern States a plan to secure Kansas to freedom and at the same time to make a very profitable investment. . . ." The railroad to Council Bluffs, the editor continued, could be completed for \$30,000 per mile, or for a total of not more than \$7,500,000. Immense traffic into the new territories would result; immigration from the North would pour into the disputed territory. This was the best way to insure the freedom of Kansas. Missourians who had stopped Sharp's rifles from coming up the Missouri might stop other goods, but the railroad would solve this problem of border ruffianism, at the same time that it was making a profit for investors. If receipts were like those of the Rock Island (\$1,327,028 for 1855), the M & M could pay 12 per cent dividends. In conclusion the editorial urged:

We advocate the building of this railroad earnestly as a peace measure. It would settle effectually all the fearful issues growing out of the Kansas Act. The very announcement that the stock was subscribed and that the road was to be finished by the fourth of

¹ See Dwight L. Agnew, "Iowa's First Railroad," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 48: 1-26 (January, 1950).

July, 1858, would at once settle this question. Slave property would not be taken to Kansas. That can be accomplished within the next sixty days if the friends of the road and of freedom act with becoming energy.²

The M & M officials, many of whom were also active in the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad, were elated. Henry Farnam, president of the Rock Island and chief engineer of the M & M, sent several copies of the article to Thomas C. Durant (known to his friends as "Doctor" Durant), who, together with Farnam, held the contract for building the M & M, and asked him to have it published in the New York papers and to have "some good writer follow it up & keep the thing before the people."³

By the end of June, 1856, six months after the road had been completed to Iowa City, the M & M had acquired 12 locomotives, 6 passenger cars, 56 box cars, 10 platform cars, and some additional rolling stock in bad order.⁴ The freight house at Iowa City was complete and a passenger station was planned.

Meanwhile, Farnam was promoting and advertising the new railroad in an expansive manner. On July 3, 1856, an Iowa City paper noted that the legislature had adjourned "for a glorification in Chicago on the 4th, by invitation of Mr. Farnham [sic]." In the fall, when the State Fair was held at Muscatine, the M & M transported exhibition livestock free.⁵ The route of the two roads, the Rock Island and the M & M, was advertised as the great national road to Kansas and Nebraska. Completion of the "Mammoth R. R. Bridge" at Rock Island⁶ enabled passengers "to make the transit from Illinois to Iowa without encountering delays and dangers of ferrying the Mississippi River in Winter." It was pointed out that the M & M brought passengers twenty-seven miles closer to Fort Des Moines than any other route.

² Chicago *Daily Democratic Press*, April 1, 1856.

³ Farnam to T. C. Durant, April 1, 1856, *Leonard Collection*, 1-3-15-41. (The Leonard Collection, State University of Iowa Library, is contained in 4-drawer filing cases; 1-3-15-41 signifies first case, third drawer, folder fifteen, item forty-one.) For the activities of Farnam and Durant, see Agnew, "Iowa's First Railroad," *passim*.

⁴ Report of B. B. Brayton to the M & M Board of Trustees, June 30, 1856, *Leonard Collection*, 3-3-11-9.

⁵ Iowa City *Daily Reporter*, July 3, Sept. 29, 1856.

⁶ For the building of this bridge, see Dwight L. Agnew, "Jefferson Davis and the Rock Island Bridge," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 47:3-14 (January, 1949).

This route offers superior advantages to passengers going to Central and Western Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, it being the shortest, cheapest, quickest and safest, more railroad, and less staging, than any other. Companies going to the Territories can purchase or hire teams at Iowa City at moderate prices; and those wishing to settle in Iowa will find the most valuable lands in the vicinity of this, the Great Overland Route to the West, better timbered and watered than any other part of the State, and offered at moderate prices and easy payments.⁷

In 1856 Iowa at last reached successfully into the federal land grab-bag. "An Act making a grant of lands to the state of Iowa" was approved by Congress on May 15, 1856. One of the routes benefited by the act was that "from the city of Davenport, via Iowa City and Fort Des Moines, to Council Bluffs." As in other land bills, the grant was made of every alternate section of land for six sections in width on each side of the designated routes. In case the lands granted were already pre-empted, or sold, indemnity lands might be selected within a limit of fifteen miles from the railroad. Federal lands remaining within the six-mile limit were to be sold at double the price of other government land. Railroads benefited were to afford free transportation for troops and government goods. All roads must be completed within ten years after the passage of the act.⁸ The Iowa act accepting the grant set up certain conditions to be met by each of the benefited roads. The route must be fixed and maps presented by April 1, 1857; seventy-five miles of the road must be completed by December 1, 1859; and thirty miles additional each year for a period of five years. If the whole line were not completed by December 1, 1865, the lands would revert to the state.⁹

The M & M was granted the land designated for the route from Davenport. This road had the advantage of a head start, since some seventy-five miles from Davenport to Iowa City had already been completed, in addition to the branch line to Muscatine. Farnam was satisfied with the law. "I have just returned from Iowa City," he wrote Doctor Durant. "The Bill passed both Houses, as it stood in the Senate when you left — no amendment worth regarding. . . . I think the Bill is all we could have asked for."¹⁰

⁷ Quoted from a reprint in the *Des Moines Register and Leader*, June 10, 1906.

⁸ 11 U. S. Statutes at Large, 9.

⁹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856, Chap. 1. The act was approved July 14, 1856.

¹⁰ Farnam to T. C. Durant, July 15, 1856, *Leonard Collection*, 1-3-15-42.

In the midst of general rejoicing over the land grant, an Iowa City editor, with more foresight than expressed by most people at that time, warned of troubles to come. He expressed the opinion that the railroads should be required to pay a percentage of the proceeds of the sale of lands, at least enough to take care of whatever expenses had been incurred.

I understand also, that the rail road managers are devising further special privileges in relation to taxation, etc., but I cannot believe that they can be bold enough at this time to ask for everything that will make them independent of all control of the State. The people cannot too jealously guard their own rights — they cannot be too careful how they confer special privileges on the few at the expense and detriment of the great mass of the people.¹¹

As soon as the land bill was safely enacted, the M & M promoters began to campaign for more local aid. Bond issues in Scott and Johnson counties had already been voted. The Johnson County bond drive is an example of the railroad's methods. In 1853 the county had voted to issue its bonds to the amount of \$50,000, to be exchanged for M & M stock at par. The bonds, payable in twenty years, bore 7 per cent interest, payable semi-annually. To pay the interest on the bonds, an annual tax of three mills was levied, to be increased at the end of ten years to an amount not exceeding 1 per cent until principal and interest were all paid. The vote on the bond issue in Johnson County was 710 for, 87 against. The bonds were turned over to Ebenezer Cook, of the Davenport banking firm of Cook and Sargent, for negotiation in New York. Dividends from stock were supposed to help pay interest on the bonds. In the years that followed, very few dividends were paid, and the county defaulted on interest. The story of all the litigation growing out of bondholders' demands for payment has never been fully extracted from the records. In one instance Johnson County officials were conducted by a United States Marshal to Des Moines, to answer charges in a federal court.¹² In most instances, the county judge had the power to turn over the bonds to the railroad company as soon as he

¹¹ *Iowa City Daily Reporter*, July 9, 1856. For the problems of state regulation of the railroads, see Earl S. Beard, "The Background of State Railroad Regulation in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:1-36 (January, 1953).

¹² *History of Johnson County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1883), 238; Clarence Ray Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County History* (2 vols., Cedar Rapids, 1912), 1:218-23, 458-62; Earl S. Beard, "Local Aid to Railroads in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 50:1-34 (January, 1952).

felt that the company was acting in good faith and had complied with stipulations.¹³

In June, 1856, Ebenezer Cook and Henry Farnam were in Des Moines where they called a meeting to set forth the conditions and prospects of the M & M and urge the citizens there to vote local aid to the road. They estimated that \$3,000,000 would be required to complete the road to Des Moines, that the contractors would furnish \$2,000,000, leaving \$1,000,000 to be furnished by people in the counties concerned. Cook and Farnam assigned \$100,000 to Polk County as its share. A Des Moines paper commented:

This we can do, and be the hundred fold gainers by it — let no man say nay. The company assures us that if we are prompt in securing this amount, and the other points along the line take the amount apportioned to them as they feel confident they will do, so as to assure them that the \$1,000,000 will be taken, the road may be completed in two years from this time.¹⁴

Several things are worth noting in connection with this meeting, typical of many others held for similar purposes. In all probability Cook and Farnam were acting in good faith. They really expected that the railroad would be completed within two years. They could not have foreseen the impending depression nor could they have forecast the Civil War. There were sound reasons for believing that the track would be laid to Des Moines by the end of 1858. In that case the M & M stock taken in exchange for bonds would have netted the county dividends to apply on bond interest. On the other hand, enthusiastic citizens of towns and counties voted bonds all out of proportion to their ability to pay. Furthermore they failed to insist on adequate guarantees on the part of the railroad. The railroad should have been held in some way liable for default in promised construction, just as counties and cities were held for defaulting on interest. What complicated the matter, of course, was the fact that bonds found their way into the hands of "innocent" third parties.

In the case of Pottawattamie County, for instance, the railroad, whether avoidably or not, was guilty of bad faith. The bond issue of \$300,000 was

¹³ Hobart C. Carr, "Early History of Iowa Railroads" (Unpublished thesis, State University of Iowa, 1938), 67.

¹⁴ Fort Des Moines Citizen, as quoted in the *Iowa City Daily Reporter*, June 28, 1856.

obtained on condition that grading would begin at Council Bluffs and work toward Des Moines. Grading was actually started, but no tracks were laid for twelve years. In this one case the railroad company was forced by an act of the legislature to relinquish the bonds.¹⁵

The faint tremors of depression in 1854, followed by flush times and overoptimism, broke out in a full-scale earthquake in 1857. The pattern of panic may be followed in the affairs of the M & M durnig 1856 and 1857. As early as December, 1855, there were clear signs of impending trouble. Doctor Durant wrote Farnam that he was having great difficulty in disposing of M & M securities. Ward and Company, New York brokers, rejected a contract for selling \$250,000 worth of M & M bonds, from the sale of which they would receive \$5,000 and a bonus of \$25,000 in the stock of the company. They later refused the offer of a still larger commission.¹⁶ "I am surprised," wrote Farnam, "that Ward does not take hold of the sale of M. & Mo. Stock & Bonds — I am sure it is one of the best things to make money out of in the country."¹⁷ In January, 1856, Joseph E. Sheffield, Durant's partner, wrote Farnam that there was a great stringency in the money market — that it was hard to get money in New York on better terms than 15 per cent. Durant wrote that it was impossible to inspire confidence in the M & M enterprise.¹⁸ Farnam failed to realize the nature of what was happening in the financial market. "It is strange," he wrote, "that we should find so much difficulty in selling Miss & Mo Bonds — I wish I had money I would take them all — There is nothing better in my opinion on the market." He continued sarcastically,

Mr Walcott has certainly done wonders in disposing of two Bonds — He could not have done it if it had not been for his rich friends in the City — It is a great outrage that we should be thus treated by our friends & the Comp'y — they seem to think that we can make any sacrifice — provided nothing comes out of their pockets — I hope you will be able to dispose of Bonds enough to purchase 20 miles of Iron [for the branch to Washington].¹⁹

¹⁵ J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War: The Life of General G. M. Dodge* (Indianapolis, 1929), 38-41; *Laws of Iowa, 1868*, Chap. 13.

¹⁶ Henry W. Farnam, *Memoir of Henry Farnam* (New Haven, 1889), 54-5.

¹⁷ Farnam to T. C. Durant, Dec. 24, 1855, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-17-48.

¹⁸ Farnam, *Memoir of Henry Farnam*, 54-5.

¹⁹ Farnam to T. C. Durant, Jan. 11, 1856, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-17-32. William Walcott, of New York, was one of the promoters of the M & M.

Throughout this and other discouraging circumstances Farnam retained an optimism he tried to impart to others. He wrote to Thomas Durant:

I know that you have an up hill business to raise money on Rail Road Securities, with all the disappointments you have met with — But you must not be discouraged & get impatient — There must be a change soon & when it commences it will be rapid — And with the very best thing in the country on hand, as we have I have no apprehensions as to the result in the end.²⁰

In spite of Farnam's optimism, the fortunes of the M & M went steadily downward. A first mortgage had been executed on July 1, 1855, conveying to trustees the first division of the road, that is from Davenport to Iowa City and the branch to Muscatine. This was to secure the payment of principal and interest on its bonds of \$1,000,000. A year later a second mortgage was executed to secure the payment of an additional bond issue of \$400,000. At the same time a first mortgage was effected on the Oskaloosa division, running from Muscatine to Oskaloosa, to the amount of \$425,000. In the spring of 1857 preparations were made for mortgaging the remainder of the line from Iowa City to Council Bluffs to insure the payment of land-grant bonds not to exceed \$7,000,000.²¹

The financial derangements of 1857 were accompanied by dissension within the company. The banking firm of Cook and Sargent in Davenport had gradually secured more and more control, a circumstance alarming to Farnam. To Doctor Durant he wrote that Ebenezer Cook should be replaced by someone who would handle the "running department" of the company.

All that will then be left for the Comp'y to look after, will be the construction of the Road which Gen'l Dix [John A. Dix, president of the M & M] can do without any trouble — This will simplify the thing, & we shall get rid of those local & improper influences which now threaten to swallow up the Comp'y & all its interests — Mr. Sheffield & I were satisfied that we could not build the Rock Island unless we kept the control at the east, & we never could have done it any other way —

The letter further indicates that arrangements were made to pay a trustee \$250,000 to handle the receivership. This money it was supposed would be

²⁰ Farnam to T. C. Durant, Feb. 9, 1856, *ibid.*, 1-3-15-29.

²¹ George H. Crosby, *History of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company* (Chicago, 1904), 9-11.

used for the benefit of the company, but Cook was named trustee and Farnam became suspicious.

I am satisfied from his unwillingness to commit himself that, the Comp'y will never be benefitted one dollar by the \$250,000 of Stock which he is to have for doing next to nothing — It would look much better on paper to appoint the two trustees & give them the whole am't of Stock appropriated, than to give such an enormous sum to one of our Board who can do us no good — But on the other hand [he] is placed in a position to make an immense fortune without running one dollar's risk —²²

The final blow was about to fall when, in July, 1857, Farnam reported that freight business was poor. Nothing was coming in from the west and about all that was going in the other direction was lumber. In his report to stockholders of the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad, dated in the summer of 1857, Farnam pointed out that the produce of western Illinois and Iowa was being consumed locally or was seeking a market toward the south where the demand was greater. Cars were coming back empty from the West.²³ Farnam thought he saw signs of hope, however. He felt sure, he wrote Durant, that in the fall business would improve. Work was progressing "with great rapidity" on the Farnam and Durant contract for the branch line between Muscatine and Washington. Farnam expected to complete the work in time to do "a good fall business." A construction train was running between Muscatine and the Iowa River. Elsewhere, Pottawattamie County had just subscribed \$300,000, and Jasper and Poweshiek counties were ready to vote on their bond issues. A Mr. Walker, evidently acting as an agent for English capital, had pronounced Farnam's project "one of the very best in the country" and felt sure that he could raise money as soon as the market "was a little easier in London."²⁴

The crash came in August. Durant wrote Farnam that in the opinion of the M & M officers, work must cease on the Muscatine to Washington division. To Farnam the news came "like a thunderbolt."

I had no idea that the Pres't and Treasurer would take the stand they have — It may be right in their judgement — but it is death to us — We cannot stop the work east of Washington without

²² Farnam to T. C. Durant, April 12, 1857, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-17-32.

²³ Annual Report to Stockholders of the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad, July 1, 1857.

²⁴ Farnam to T. C. Durant, July 6, 1857, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-17-23.

subjecting ourselves to more damage than it will cost to finish it — Besides we have been urging up every man — The contractors Bridge men & all so that our next estimate will be as large as the last & most of the contractors will be through, with the exception of the trimming — Still if the Comp'y cannot pay us any thing we had better stop & suffer the consequences But it will be a death blow to the character of the Comp'y. . . .

He would instruct John Henry, the superintendent, to make arrangements to slacken or stop the work if it became necessary. If work came to a halt they could not hope to secure the \$100,000 in bonds from Washington County.²⁵

In September, Farnam wrote to Doctor Durant's brother, Charles W., that arrangements were being made with the sub-contractors to lay off men and stop work. He expressed the hope that they could avoid "going to protest on the Bank notes." "I feel exceeding[ly] mortified and depressed — But we must not wilt under it — but put our shoulders to the wheel one & all, & if possible get out of it."²⁶ Arrangements for stopping work were not easily made. The sub-contractors were in debt to their men for back wages and could not discharge them without "making a regular rowe." Through personal friends in Chicago, Farnam raised some money to pay the contractors. The arrangement was made quietly so that it would not become generally known how close Farnam and Durant were to bankruptcy. Farnam wrote in September:

I have been rather blue, since I returned but I think I can see a bright spot ahead — And if you will only keep up good courage & put shoulder to the wheel, we shall come out all right — We must not lay down — Keep our credit good if possible — not go to protest until we are obliged to — Thirty days will show a different state of things — and if we can keep right with our creditors for another sixty days I feel quite sure we shall come out all right —

He also expressed the opinion that if they had a live board of directors the work could still be finished to Washington.²⁷

In the view of Farnam's son, Henry W. Farnam, it was speculation on

²⁵ Farnam to T. C. Durant, Aug. 19, 1857, *ibid.*, 1-2-17-19.

²⁶ Farnam to Charles W. Durant, Sept. 4, 1857, *ibid.*, 1-2-17-51.

²⁷ Farnam to T. C. Durant, Sept. 14, 17, 1857, *ibid.*, 1-2-17-17, 1-2-17-18.

the part of Thomas Durant which brought the firm to the brink of failure.²⁸ Whatever the reason, Farnam and Durant were able to satisfy their creditors and continue in business. In the fall of 1857 Farnam "did not expect any great relief" until the first of February, but he anticipated that good business would return with the spring and that the year 1858 would be "as prosperous as any former year."²⁹ Durant had evidently written that Sir Charles Fox might go to Chicago to look over business prospects. Farnam promised to "spare no pains in extending to him all the civilities" and to furnish him with any information he desired.

If it is necessary to pay him for looking over our matter I shall not hesitate to do so — We have a good project, & if we can only keep our dish right side up until Spring, I have great confidence that the project can be presented to English capitalists [sic] in such a light, as to ensure success.³⁰

With 1858 came changes in organization. Farnam had often expressed the need for reorganization, but he deferred his proposals until the annual meeting in June. "At that time," he wrote, "I propose to start off on an entirely new plan — I have too much interest in that Road to see it so miserably managed as it has been."³¹ By the new plan John F. Tracy, superintendent of the Chicago & Rock Island, was made superintendent of both the Illinois and Iowa roads.

Following the reorganization a revival of interest in extending the track westward was reflected in bond-issue activities. Farnam, in May, saw the Washington County judge who had in his charge \$150,000 in bonds issued by the county. The judge insisted that the company promise to complete the railroad to the town of Washington by September 1. Washington County citizens were anxious to have the road completed, but they wanted assurances that the proceeds from sale of the bonds would not be "flitted away in Wall Street." A second issue of \$100,000 was made on condition that the road be completed by September 1 and that the depot building be placed within one-half mile of the courthouse square. Farnam wrote to Durant: "I think they are disposed to do as they agree, & all they want is [to] be sure that they will not be decieved by us — I hope you have already

²⁸ Farnam, *Memoir of Henry Farnam*, 55.

²⁹ Farnam to T. C. Durant, Oct. 27, 1857, *Leonard Collection*, 1-12-17-16.

³⁰ Farnam to T. C. Durant, Nov. 21, 1857, *ibid.*, 1-2-17-13.

³¹ Farnam to T. C. Durant, Jan. 8, 1858, *ibid.*, 1-2-17-11.

arranged for the negotiation of these bonds — There is nothing better in the market.” Iowa County was also ready to vote on a bond issue. Durant expressed to Farnam the thought that Scott County should also contribute more. Farnam replied: “I notice what you say with regard to Davenport assisting the M. & Mo. Road — There is no dout [sic] they should do more & I shall do all I can to make them — But they are already so in debt under the administration of ‘Hubby’ Sargent, that I dout whether they can be moved to do any thing.” Late in May Farnam advised Doctor Durant to take the Polk County bonds on any reasonable terms. It might be necessary, he thought, to agree to commence grading as soon as the bonds were delivered to the company. That had been the arrangement in Iowa County.³²

It is clear from Farnam’s letters that the contractors were really dependent on proceeds from the sale of these bonds to meet their current expenses. Late in July, Farnam wrote that the August estimate would be \$12,000. “You & Charley [probably Charles W. Durant],” he said, “must take care of the money negotiations, & keep me supplied.” He thought there should be no trouble about selling Washington County bonds — “There is nothing better.”³³

However much reason there was for delays in construction, Washington County people had reason to be skeptical of promises made by the M & M. Contracts for grading had been let as far back as May, 1854.³⁴ Work on the thirty-seven miles from Muscatine to Washington was stopped and resumed spasmodically for four years. In the summer of 1857, just before the crash came, Farnam hoped to have the track completed to Washington by November 1. Already the line was completed to the Iowa River just across from Columbus Junction where the Western Stage Company was preparing to connect with the railroad. Doctor Durant had purchased thirty-three hundred tons of iron to complete the track to Washington. This seems to be the first use of American iron on either the Rock Island or the M & M. “I have no dout,” wrote Farnam, “we shall find it better than English.” At the end of the summer came the panic and the resulting work

³² Farnam to T. C. Durant, May 6, 27, June 20, 1858, *ibid.*, 1-2-17-10, 1-2-17-8, 1-2-17-5.

³³ Farnam to T. C. Durant, July 23, 1858, *ibid.*, 1-2-17-4.

³⁴ Isaac Lane Usher, “Letters of a Railroad Builder,” *The Palimpsest*, 3:25 (January, 1922).

stoppage. A year later, July, 1858, the contractors again had a large force at work on the road west of Columbus Junction. Farnam found the farmers along the line so embarrassed financially and so fearful of giving credit, remembering their depression experiences, that they insisted on cash for hay and grain and for bridge timbers. "Besides," he wrote, "every foreman must be prepared to pay every man that wishes to quit or we should have a strike in twenty four hours that might hinder us a week." Farnam hoped to persuade the sub-contractors to take part of their pay in Washington County bonds discounted at 85 per cent.³⁵

At last the road to Washington was completed in time for the citizens to hold a celebration of the event on September 1, 1858. Meanwhile, on the main line from Iowa City west, construction remained at a complete standstill. Farmers and businessmen in the counties between Iowa City and Des Moines, who had waited so long for the railroad, were becoming impatient by the fall of 1858. Charges against the M & M were answered in a statement by President John A. Dix to the editor of a Marengo paper. Dix referred to an article on the M & M written some time previously. The statements, he said, were "entirely destitute of truth." The road was not a bankrupt concern — in spite of the "financial derangement" of the previous year, interests on bonds had been paid, and the road from Muscatine to Washington had been opened. He pointed out that the M & M had "over 400,000 acres of the best land in the United States, which it has not incumbered by any bond, stock or money lien." Because of the close connection in operation between the Rock Island and the M & M it had been rumored that the latter had been leased to the former. This, Dix denied.³⁶ The president of the M & M did not mention that practically no dividends had been paid on stock and that the road itself and its equipment were heavily mortgaged.

The Pike's Peak gold rush in the early months of 1859 brought the M & M a new source of revenue. Ill-founded stories of fabulous discoveries circulated in the East and Midwest during the fall of 1858, as a result of W. Green Russell's findings. When the tide of migration to the gold fields began to swell, railroads, stage lines, and packet companies competed

³⁵ Farnam to T. C. Durant, June 30, July 4, 1857, July 24, 1858, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-17-25, 1-2-17-22, 1-2-17-3.

³⁶ Dix's letter was dated Nov. 16, 1858, and appeared in the *Marengo Iowa Weekly Visitor*, Jan. 13, 1859.

for the traffic. John F. Tracy, superintendent of the lines from Chicago to Iowa City, was not unmindful of his opportunities. The *Chicago Press and Tribune* noted in its issue of February 16, 1859:

The rail ways running west from this city and the stage lines connected with them have been actively engaged for several weeks in perfecting their plans to accommodate all who are determined to try their fortunes in this new field of enterprise and golden hopes. We have to notice this morning the important fact that the Chicago and Rock Island Railway have completed arrangements with the Western Stage Company, and are now selling through tickets from Chicago to Fort Kearney [sic] on the Platte River, 184 miles west of Council Bluffs, and only 346 miles this side of the gold fields.

The distance by rail and wagon road to Fort Kearny by this route — 666 miles — could be traveled in four or five days. Traveling time to Iowa City was only twelve hours. A through passenger ticket from Chicago to Fort Kearny was \$50.25 for first class, \$46.50 for second class. Superintendent Tracy suggested that parties living in Michigan, northern Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and parts of Wisconsin might wish to take their teams, wagons, and supplies by rail from Chicago to Iowa City. He declared that these items were much more expensive farther west. Freight cars renting at \$50.00 were attached to passenger trains. "In this way three or four parties might club together and put their teams in one car, their wagons and baggage in another, and find this a very cheap and expeditious way, without change of cars, to make a long distance westward."³⁷

An Iowa City paper claimed that the route via the Rock Island and M & M railroads was best for people traveling from any of the northern and eastern states. Emigrants in large groups were given a reduction of \$2.00 per person, making the fare from Chicago to Iowa City only \$5.20. Iowa City was boosted as the "natural outlet to the western frontier" and the "best outfitting and starting point in the country." An issue of the *Iowa Weekly Republican* at Iowa City presents a picture of the feverish activity there at the beginning of spring:

The Pike's Peak Emigration, although materially checked by the bad roads the past fortnight, has been steadily increasing during the last few days. Two or three car loads of emigrants come over

³⁷ *Chicago Press and Tribune*, as quoted in the *Iowa City Iowa Weekly Republican*, Feb. 16, 1859.

the M. & M. Railroad to this City nearly every day. A number of companies are encamped near the Depot and in the suburbs of the City anxiously waiting for the roads to improve. Eleven Pike's Peak teams from De Kalb county, Ill., passed through the City Monday morning; and teams may be seen on our streets at all hours of the day labelled Pike's Peak. Iowa City is doing her share of the fitting out, as the North Platte route steadily grows in favor with the gold seekers.³⁸

West of Iowa City the gold seekers were forced to resort to stagecoach and wagon for the remainder of the journey.

In spite of the increase in business due to the gold rush, there were few indications that the railroad would ever be extended. The M & M continued to make a few gestures, however. Peter Dey had been sent on the survey west of Iowa City in May, 1858, although Farnam had had to borrow money at the bank to pay Dey's expenses. "They are all so poor," Farnam wrote, "that they cannot raise money enough to pay for a day's Board—" Dey had surveyed two routes through Poweshiek County, evidently with the idea that the towns of Montezuma and Grinnell would compete with one another to bring the railroad. Indeed, a Montezuma paper noted that people in the southern part of the county were subscribing generously, thinking by that means to insure a southern route.³⁹

Between the "end of track" at Iowa City in Johnson County and Marengo in Iowa, the next county to the west, enough of a force was at work in January, 1859, to give Marengo hope that the track would soon be extended. "Look out for the Iron Horse about the 4th of July next! Won't the 'yaller flowers' of the prairies wave their beautiful heads joyfully when the time comes? We guess so — we reckon so." In February the M & M had labor troubles at Brooklyn, a few miles west of Marengo, and there were rumors that all work had stopped. "The Iowa Statesman is circulating a story that the M. & M. R. R. have to quit work on the main line west of Iowa City," cried the Marengo Visitor. "This world is dreadfully given to lying, and especially is this the case with the editor of the Statesman."⁴⁰

³⁸ Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, Feb. 23, March 23, 1859.

³⁹ Farnam to T. C. Durant, May 6, 1858, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-17-10; Montezuma *Republican*, quoted in Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, June 9, 1858.

⁴⁰ Marengo *Iowa Weekly Visitor*, quoted in Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, Jan. 5, 1859; also see Marengo *Iowa Weekly Visitor*, Feb. 3, 17, 1859.

In spite of early optimism, however, such a small amount of work was done during the summer of 1859 that rumblings of discontent came from all along the line. One expression of this dissatisfaction is contained in a letter to George B. Sargent of Boston, who was furnishing some of the funds for the M & M. The writer was Josiah B. Grinnell, who had founded the town bearing his name and who had considerable contact with M & M promoters. A review of his connection with the project will make the letter more understandable.

Grinnell, as a young man, had visited the West with the idea of selecting an area for a colony to be made up of some of his eastern friends. He had determined on Missouri as the proper site but on his way back east in the fall of 1853 he had met Farnam who advised him to settle in Iowa and suggested he consult one of the M & M surveyors as to a good location along the line of the railroad. The surveyor advised location at the summit between the Iowa and Skunk rivers. There Grenville Dodge had planted a flag to mark the divide. Late in February, 1854, Grinnell and his associates had purchased about 5,000 acres from the firm of Cook, Sargent and Downey in Iowa City.⁴¹ From the beginning of the settlement, Grinnell had loyally supported the railroad project. He had assisted the company officials in securing right of way through Iowa and Poweshiek counties. His letter to Sargent thus probably indicates the general temper of the people rather than his own. A few months later he would rush to the defense of the very railroad he seemed to threaten.

Grinnell started his letter by indicating the great business prospects of the road if pushed westward. He estimated that in the five counties west of Iowa City a half million bushels of wheat — fifty thousand dollars worth of freight — would be drawn to the railroad if it were extended thirty or forty miles. The price of wheat was so low that it would not bear a long wagon carriage. "If the road is pushed out from Iowa City this fall," Grinnell wrote, "we shall elect County Judges who will make a levy for the interest of our R R Bonds in Iowa & Poweshiek Counties, and such is the spirit of our People, their sense of honor and ability with a R. R. that there can be no question as to the value of our R R Bonds." Then came the sentences to which Mr. Sargent took umbrage: "No interest will be paid on

⁴¹ Charles E. Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell* (Iowa City, 1938), 27-32; Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, *Men and Events of Forty Years* (Boston, 1891), 87-94; Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War*, 25.

our Bonds in the two counties for the next two years without bitter and expensive litigation unless the work begins at Iowa City, Soon. And then discredit will be thrown on the land grant, and what friends we may have here in the Legislature will be weak and fearful.”⁴² In his reply, Sargent was sharply critical.

Boston, Aug 10, 1859

J. B. Grinnell Esq

Dear Sir

Your most remarkable letter of the 4th inst is recd and read by me; why you should think it for the interest of your section to write a letter to me (when I am furnishing all the funds now expended in your County) threaten[ing] [sic] to swindle the innocent purchasers of your Bonds unless the Mississippi & Missouri R R Co. do certain things, I can't imagine. In your letter of 10th of June you say — “As to our County R R Bonds there can be no question in regard to them.” and again “The interest on our Bonds will be promptly met, we are Eastern people” &c &c — Now you threaten *repudiation*. In less than 60 days after writing such statements — If I believed you could influence the majority of your County to such baseness I would not touch another of your securities with a 40 foot pole — I am using every exertion aided by Messrs Farnam & Durant, Mr E Cook and all other friends of the enterprise to put them through in right shape and to commence work West of Iowa City at once. . . .

If this is the code of morals at Grinnell (settled by Eastern people) God help their Iowa say I. — The proceeds of your Bonds have been expended in your county and you will have a good time with your threatened “bitter and expensive litigation” if you attempt a defence.

Yours Respy

G. B. Sargent⁴³

Grinnell's letter was not the only expression of dissatisfaction over the long delays in continuing the M & M westward from Iowa City. “We think it high time the road was done,” wrote the *Marengo Visitor*, “the hope of seeing it built as far as Marengo, has been deterred [sic] until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue, and the gentlemanly managers thereof needn't be surprised if they hear a little grumbling from the people along the line.” If, as was rumored, work was already started west of Iowa City, “the road

⁴² Grinnell to Sargent, Aug. 4, 1859, *Leonard Collection*, 1-1-42-3.

⁴³ Sargent to Grinnell, Aug. 10, 1859, *ibid.*, 1-1-42-2.

will surely be here with increased speed," said the Marengo editor, "and the unearthly screech of the locomotive, which is said to resemble the screams of the spirit of an attorney when Satan gets him in his grip, will awaken the astonished echoes among the bluffs around Marengo, to the astonishment of the natives, before the dawn of another year."⁴⁴

Sometime during the fall of 1859 Henry Farnam withdrew from active participation in Iowa construction work. The Farnam and Durant partnership was dissolved in an agreement signed November 10, 1859. Farnam's reasons for withdrawing are not clear. Henry W. Farnam suggested that his father was not altogether in sympathy with Thomas C. Durant's methods of finance.⁴⁵ For a few years Farnam retained his position as president of the Chicago & Rock Island and kept up his interest in the Iowa project and in plans for a Pacific railroad. Durant placed John E. Henry in charge of sub-contracts in Iowa.

In September, 1859, hopes again rose. Henry was busy receiving bids and assigning contracts for bridge work, grading, and timber cutting. Names of men who had completed contracts on the Chicago & Rock Island and on the M & M east of Iowa City now appeared on contracts for work west — Boyle, Reynolds, Saulspough, and Carmichael.⁴⁶

In November the *Boston Railway Times* gave the M & M a boost:

This road has recently completed a negotiation for its bonds of considerable amount, about \$1,350,000 at very satisfactory prices, and have sent forward three thousand tons of iron to be laid west of Iowa City. The road has now one hundred and seven miles in use, (including the Muscatine branch,) of which twenty miles has been completed since the panic. The Company has always promptly paid its interest without asking extension of favor of any kind — a rare occurrence.⁴⁷

In the early part of December, 1859, prospects brightened still further. Iron arrived in Davenport aboard cattle cars on the way to Iowa City.

⁴⁴ Marengo *Iowa Weekly Visitor*, Sept. 29, 1859.

⁴⁵ Charles W. Durant was also involved in the partnership. The signed agreement of dissolution is in the *Leonard Collection*, 4-1-41-11. See also Farnam, *Memoir of Henry Farnam*, 51-9.

⁴⁶ Henry to T. C. Durant, Sept. 26, 1859, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-4-38; Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, 1859.

⁴⁷ *Boston Railway Times*, as quoted in the Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, Nov. 16, 1859.

Henry had purchased oak ties at thirty-five cents and contracted for one thousand sawed pine ties at thirty-two cents. It appeared that the sub-contractors might accept county bonds for part of their pay. Then a minor depression struck, closing bank doors. "My contractors are worse off than I am," wrote Henry, "as every man of them had an account with Downey [Cook, Sargent and Downey of Iowa City] and are in a bad fix for present wants, if I had some currency on hand now I could use it to good advantage among them, and do not see how they can get along without some help from us." From his headquarters at Davenport, Henry wrote the following day: "This town is bluer than any place I was ever in."⁴⁸

Some indication of progress was evident between December, 1859, and February, 1860, when the bridge over the Iowa River at Iowa City was completed at a cost of \$100,000. Into the bridge and the trestle-work approaches went 100,000 pounds of iron and over 2,000,000 board feet of lumber. When the ice started to break in late February, the bridge was almost lost, but the return of cold weather enabled the engineers to repair and strengthen the structure.⁴⁹

From reading Henry's letters to Durant during this period one gets the impression that Durant was trying to do as little work as possible while keeping up the appearance of progress. Certainly, little was accomplished during the first few months of 1860. There may have been difficulties in obtaining money through the sale of securities, or the board of directors may have had some other reason for holding up the work.

One of the provisions of the Iowa bill granting lands to the railroads required the completion of seventy-five miles of track on the main line by December 1, 1859. The condition on the part of the M & M had not been fulfilled. When the legislature was asked to extend the time, the M & M was promptly attacked. Thomas M. Isett of Muscatine, who had been ousted from the board of directors, published a pamphlet replete with charges against the M & M promoters, Farnam in particular, even though Farnam had withdrawn from the affairs of the road. In an open letter to the *Des Moines Register*, J. B. Grinnell rushed to the defense of the road. Isett had accused Farnam and others of being "sharks." Grinnell pointed

⁴⁸ Henry to T. C. Durant, Dec. 5, 9, 13, 19, 20, 1859, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-4-44, 1-2-4-45, 1-2-4-48, 1-2-4-49, 1-2-4-50.

⁴⁹ Marengo *Iowa Weekly Visitor*, Feb. 29, 1860; Henry to T. C. Durant, Feb. 24, 1860, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-4-30.

out that Isett had kept company with the "sharks" for six years without giving any sign of displeasure until he had been replaced by J. Scott Richman as director. Grinnell quoted Isett as saying that "none but a home directory should control the foreign Capital in Railroad," and went on to comment:

Has not that been asked in every Western State and the farcial [sic] notion played out that men should throw up the control of their monied enterprises? Would or could Iowa Capital, build a Railroad of any length? You have admitted that Mr. Farnam was rich when he began building a Railroad in Iowa, and must remember that at the last meeting of the Board in Davenport, he offered to let any party have his contract for building the road westward, and would give that party \$100,000 of his investment here. The failure of the crops and the financial troubles of the country have greatly depreciated the value of his investments in the State, and now you ask the "use of the pruning knife freely." . . .

Grinnell feared that if the railroad were not extended, the farmers of central Iowa would be forced to leave. It was their conviction, he said, "that one half of their lands with a Railroad, will be worth more to them than the whole without one." Grinnell pointed out that the management had kept down accidents and provided trains and cars where needed. Isett had insinuated, evidently, that fraud had been practiced because no report of the road had been issued. Dix, Grinnell said, had thought that since business had been so poor, a report would do no good. "You know," wrote Grinnell, "that Henry Farnam has built 120 miles of railroad in Iowa, and scattered large sums of money among its peoples, hundreds of thousands of which was his own, while it was said last season that you had not paid your own subscription."⁵⁰

In May, 1860, came the Republican convention in the "Wigwam" at Chicago. Although the main interest centered about the question of slavery extension, a plank of the Republican platform called for a Pacific railroad. The group of railroad promoters interested in the Platte Valley route campaigned vigorously for the nomination of Lincoln, who had indicated interest in the project. Lincoln, visiting Council Bluffs in April, 1859, to look over some property offered him by Norman Judd, had questioned Grenville M. Dodge about the best routes for a railroad west. Dodge later admitted:

⁵⁰ Grinnell to Isett, *Des Moines Register*, as quoted in the *Marengo Iowa Weekly Visitor*, March 7, 1860.

"He shelled my woods completely and got all the information I'd collected for Henry Farnam, my employer." Thinking that Lincoln would have a predilection for the Platte River route and knowing Iowa's concern in the matter, Farnam and his associates worked to secure support of the Iowa delegation for Lincoln's nomination. Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood and his wife were invited to stay at the Farnam home in Chicago and were sent passes on the railroad.⁵¹ At the close of the convention the delegates were invited on a complimentary trip to Iowa City, via the Rock Island and the M & M routes. Representatives of nineteen states came out to look over the growing young state. After dinner at the Clinton House in Iowa City, the excursionists extended their "heartfelt thanks to Mr. Farnham [sic] and the company over which he presides for their generous liberality, for their excellent accommodations and for the delightful pleasure furnished by a free railroad trip over the most magnificent country under Heaven."⁵²

Through the spring and summer of 1860 construction on the M & M progressed very slowly. After a lapse of several weeks, track laying was resumed in May with the arrival of eight carloads of iron. On August 1 a Marengo paper announced: "From J. B. Grinnell, who passed through town day before yesterday, on his way home from New York, we learn that the Board of Directors of the M. & M. R. R. have issued peremptory orders to the contractors to have the cars running to this point in thirty days." Whether Grinnell was correct or not, Marengo was disappointed. Cars did reach Homestead, just over the Johnson County line, by that time, and a cattle train was placed on a daily run to that temporary terminus. About October 1, 1860, the line was at last completed to Marengo, thirty miles west of Iowa City. No doubt the citizens had their "frolick" as Mr. Henry planned.⁵³ There was cause for rejoicing. Many of these people of Marengo had witnessed the arrival of the steam locomotive in Iowa City in 1856; for five years they had listened in vain for its whistle in their own town. Now at last Marengo became the western terminus of the M & M.

Through the fall of 1860 there were indications that the track would continue on speedily past Marengo. Toward the last of August wagons

⁵¹ Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War*, 45-56.

⁵² Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, May 23, 1860.

⁵³ Marengo *Iowa Valley Democrat*, May 23, Aug. 1, 1860; Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican*, Sept. 5, Oct. 3, 1860; Henry to T. C. Durant, Sept. 12, 1860, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-4-18.

loaded with timber for the erection of work-shanties passed through the town.⁵⁴ Mr. Henry found a "first rate place for Station" about twelve miles west of Marengo on the Poweshiek County line. He urged Hiram Price and J. B. Grinnell to hurry up negotiations on right of way in Poweshiek County, informing them that unless right of way was furnished in twenty days all work would stop. "Don't get me in a scrape with this matter," he wrote Durant, "as I tell them it is your orders."⁵⁵ On November 5, 1860, Henry wrote:

Our Grading and Bridging is already completed to the west line of Iowa County, except the raising of some of the small Bridges, which are ready to be raised whenever we want them. And we have but very little to do to Complete the Grading to Brooklyn. I turned the Track between Iowa City and Marengo over to the Company on the 1st Nov, and have just commenced Track Laying west of Marengo. Please let me know how fast you would like it laid. . . .⁵⁶

Prospects for continued construction of the M & M seemed bright in the fall of 1860, with signs of work beyond Marengo. The election of Abraham Lincoln in November assured the railroad interests an administration favorable to their needs. Apparently the M & M had weathered the years of depression successfully. However, in 1861, as war became a threat and then a certainty, construction again slowed down to a walk. The labor supply was inadequate, as the men marched off to war, and the supply of iron was scarce. The result of these difficulties was that two years were expended in completing the track from Grinnell to Kellogg, a distance of only about twelve miles. In addition to the demands of the war on men and materials, this delay can be further explained by Thomas C. Durant's growing interest in the Union Pacific project and his consequent neglect of the M & M. In October, 1863, Durant became vice-president and general manager of the Union Pacific Company, and although he remained the principal contractor on the M & M, he directed the construction from a distance. It also appears that the M & M was poorly managed, especially after Henry Farnam was forced to leave the project in the hands of men interested less in the ultimate success of the enterprise than in immediate profits of specu-

⁵⁴ Marengo *Iowa Valley Democrat*, Aug. 29, 1860.

⁵⁵ Henry to T. C. Durant, Aug. 24, 1860, *Leonard Collection*, 1-2-4-20.

⁵⁶ Henry to T. C. Durant, Nov. 5, 1860, *ibid.*, 1-2-4-17.

lation. The president of the M & M, General John Adams Dix, lent dignity to the organization but contributed little in the way of managerial ability. Thus there was no high official resident in the West who could give time and attention to the project.

The Iowa road just barely managed to survive the years of civil war: from 1860 to 1866 end of track was pushed westward only forty miles. During those years the M & M was in such constant financial difficulties that the only way out of the tangle seemed to be complete reorganization. The final solution came in 1866 with the sale of the road to the Rock Island Railroad for \$2,100,000. This consolidation was made easier by the fact that the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad and the M & M were already operating under a cooperative working agreement designed to make, in effect, one line of the two roads. Under the new organization hope revived and construction continued. Des Moines was reached in 1867 and Council Bluffs in 1869. The Mississippi & Missouri had lost its identity but remained a part of a larger system.

DOCUMENT

THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF SAMUEL MAHON, SEVENTH IOWA INFANTRY

Edited by John K. Mahon

It would accomplish nothing to conceal the fact that Samuel Mahon was my grandfather. Indeed, except for that connection I should not have possession of his few surviving wartime letters. In all ways I have attempted to neutralize the blood tie. To begin with, the letters are reproduced just as he wrote them; nothing has been cut out except items that had no historical interest whatever.

Of the scores of letters my grandfather must have written during the four years of war, none have survived in the family except the thirty-nine addressed to his sister Elizabeth ("Dear Lizzie"). These three dozen letters — supplemented by a short autobiography written many years later — comprise the weight of this document. Letters and autobiography are in my hands.

Samuel Mahon was born in County Westmeath, Ireland, on August 31, 1840. His father, bankrupted by the potato famine of 1846, migrated to the United States in 1849 with his wife and seven children. Samuel was the youngest of the household but one. Moving in the current of the time, the family drifted slowly westward until, in the fall of 1854, it stopped in the town that was to become home, Ottumwa, Iowa.

Here, as soon as Samuel was sixteen, he went to work in a general store. Next, he taught school for one term. After that he returned to merchandising, this time in the employ of the Inskeep Brothers of Ottumwa. When Samuel left town, he left to go to war. This departure is well told in his autobiography:

I remained with them [Inskeep Brothers] until the breaking out of the Civil War, when I enlisted in a company organized by Charles W. Kittredge¹ and which became Co. F of the 7th Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry. I had been greatly annoyed for a couple of years . . . by deaf-

¹ For a sketch of Charles W. Kittredge, see A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . (Des Moines, 1865), 513-20. After the war Kittredge married Samuel Mahon's sister, Charlotte.

ness which affected me every time that I caught a cold. . . . It became so troublesome that I had about made up my mind to try some other business and I enlisted on the principle of the kill or cure proposition. I was elected First Lieutenant of the company and on account of some experience gained by belonging to a militia company previous to the breaking out of the war and some hard study of military tactics, I did most of the drilling.

The company was ordered into rendezvous at Camp Warren, Burlington, July 12, 1861, where active drilling and organizing was continued. The regiment was mustered into the United States service July 24th. . . . we all had little or no money. The state furnished rations during our stay in Burlington and each man brought a blanket or comfort from home for bedding. We slept on straw in sheds and slept soundly. A Jewish firm of clothiers furnished the commissioned officers of the regiment their outfit of uniform, sword, belt and other equipment, trusting them until they drew their first pay. . . .

A week or two after we were mustered in we were ordered to St. Louis and were transported thence on a small steamboat towing two barges.² The one thousand men composing the regiment filled about every available space on all three of the craft. We landed in St. Louis and were marched to Jefferson Barracks; here our arms were issued to us consisting of the old-fashioned small ball muskets, caliber 72 carrying a one ounce lead spherical ball and three buck shot made up with a charge of heavy black powder.³ I think our officer's uniforms overtook us at St. Louis. The enlisted men, however, had no clothing except what they wore from their homes. . . .

At the time of his election as first lieutenant, Samuel Mahon was just one month short of twenty-one years old. The other two company officers were thirty-four and thirty-five, while most of the enlisted men were older than their second in command. Be that as it may, the night before leaving St. Louis the lieutenant wrote a letter to his sister.

² This was the steamboat *Jennie Whipple*. Histories of the 7th Iowa are: H. I. Smith, *History of the Seventh Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry During the Civil War* (Mason City, 1903); *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 2:911-20.

³ This statement about the arms issued is open to doubt. Caliber .72 was much larger than the .58 generally used during the war. An official report entitled "History of the Regiment" says the two flank companies received Springfield rifles, the other eight companies got the improved Springfield muskets, caliber .58, which were the standard infantry weapons. The report cited is in *Report of the Adjutant General . . . State of Iowa, January 11, 1864 to January 1, 1865* (Des Moines, 1865), 1056.

Dear Lizzy

. . . I expect to come up next week from St Louis just as quick as K[ittredge] comes down I will have to take charge of the Company till he comes and it is no small job to regulate 80 or 90 men We will be some time at St. L—— as the men are generally undisciplined [sic] and all unarmed. The Boys cheered the announcement with enthusiasm and all seem delighted How does K—— grace his new plumage I had hopes of cutting a swell up there myself this week only for that unlucky order. But my time will come next. Gen Fremont is at St Louis and I suppose I shall see him

Mahon's prediction that the outfit would have to remain a while in St. Louis because the men were green did not prove to be correct. The situation in Missouri was precarious, and after a few days in the city, the command was sent out to the south.⁴

Ironton, Mo, Aug 18 1861

Dear Lizzy

After a good deal of banging about we have brought up at a god forsaken point called Pilot Knob in the South Eastern part of the State We have done a good deal of Soldiering for short experiences We were ordered to Rollo in the Western part of the State after getting our arms and just as we were on board the cars and our Baggage loaded the order was countermanded and we had to march to another station and take the cars to this place. . . . We are pretty well fixed We came on Thursday and our company was ordered out on picket guard about 3 miles from camp in a mountain road We had a very pretty place to camp and got plenty of apples and Roast Ears We came back to camp yesterday and today we are resting from our labors. On the Sabbath there is an unusual silence in the camp which is pleasant after the confusion of the week It is a blessing even in the tented field to have a few hours to ones self and think of things past and future there is no wildness whatever in our regiment most of the officers are steady men and many religious there is little or no temptation to vice or wickedness and a person has an opportunity to think of other

⁴ The original destination of the 7th Iowa was to support General Nathaniel Lyon, but his defeat and death at the battle of Wilson's Creek on August 10 changed the plans for the 7th, and the regiment was instead sent to Pilot Knob and thence to Ironton, south of St. Louis. Smith, *History of the Seventh Iowa* . . . , 6-7. For the battle of Wilson's Creek, see Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General* (3 vols., New York, 1949-1952), 3:32-3.

more serious matters. . . . I enjoy very good health and like the business well I will try to get a furlough the first opportunity. . . .

For the next three months the 7th Iowa Infantry was moved about in the vicinity of the Mississippi River between Ironton, Missouri, and Cairo, Illinois. Mahon, recalling in his autobiography his first picket duty which occurred at Ironton, remembered that the full weight of the war seemed to rest on his shoulders alone out in that dark night. Also, he made note of the Regiment's first march, a ninety-mile affair to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, which took some of the romance out of soldiering.

When the 7th Iowa received its baptism of fire at Belmont, Missouri, on November 7, 1861, Mahon was not present, having taken sick some weeks previous and been sent home on leave to recover. The baptism was a terrible one; out of about 400 engaged, 227 were casualties.⁵ The chances are good that Mahon's career would have been different had he been there. As it was, Captain Kittredge was severely wounded, and when Lt. Mahon got back to the unit he found himself, at the age of twenty-one, in command of Company F.

The remnant of the Regiment returned to St. Louis to rest and recruit. It remained there until early January, 1862, when, in bitter cold, it moved down the Mississippi toward the theater of Brigadier General U. S. Grant's next operations. Only one letter survives bearing on the Forts Henry and Donelson campaign. It contains nothing worth reproducing, but the autobiography has something to say on the capture of Donelson, February 6, 1862.

The culmination occurred on the evening of the third day, when Gen. Grant formed a column under the command of Gen. Chas. F. Smith. This column consisted of five lines of battle of infantry, the 7th being in the third line.⁶ They succeeded in capturing the enemy's position and holding

⁵ The 7th Iowa was under the command of Col. J. G. Lauman. For his report of the battle, see *The War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (Washington, 1881), Series I, Vol. III, 296-8 (hereafter listed as *Official Records*). Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments . . .*, 165, gives the total casualties as 227. The surgeon's record, prepared at a later date, gives a total, as does Lauman, of 119 killed and wounded from the 7th Iowa, out of the total casualties of the battle of 402. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. III, 275. For a detailed account of the Battle of Belmont see Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:75-100. For a personal account of the battle, see Smith, *History of the Seventh Iowa . . .*, 11-34. The author, H. I. Smith, was Captain of Company B, 7th Iowa.

⁶ Each one of these lines of battle was composed of two ranks of men. Although the lines started the assault with a distance of a number of yards between them, all

it under a sharp fire from an interior line until darkness fell. The night was a dreary one owing to the cold, fires being forbidden and rations exhausted. The dawn came welcome to the benumbed combatants, the more so as the Union pickets discerned as the daylight advanced that there were white flags displayed along the enemy's line. . . . [The surrender followed] In the joy of the moment cold and hunger alike were forgotten and cheer after cheer went up in celebration of the victory. The regiments composing the column which captured the works were accorded the honor of capturing the fort. The 7th regiment were fortunate in being quartered inside the fort, a very comfortable log building occupied by a Confederate Tennessee regiment. . . . The officers and men of the two regiments fraternized. The Confederates had abundance of food in the fort and I shall always remember the splendid breakfast which the Confederate officers, whose quarters we jointly occupied, prepared for us by their black servants; half-starved as we were, we thoroughly enjoyed the fried ham, hot biscuits and coffee. In a very few days the prisoners of the garrison were sent North leaving our army in full possession. The sanitary conditions of the fort were bad at best, partly owing to ignorance of proper methods of a newly organized volunteer army, and from this cause and from exposure and fatigue of the short campaign, the men sickened rapidly and many died.⁷

There are no more letters until July 9, three months after the battle of Shiloh, April 6 and 7, 1862. Of that battle, the autobiography says:

The 2d Division to which the 7th regiment belonged had its camp back by the Landing fully one and one-half miles from where the battle opened. It was a beautiful Sunday morning and the men were lounging about camp preparing for the Sunday morning inspection, or writing letters home without a thought of impending peril. Suddenly the orders came to fall in at the lines fused into one mass by the time the works were reached. This was a very costly formation. See Arthur L. Wagner, *Organization and Tactics* (7th edition, Kansas City, Mo., 1906), 266. Wagner prepared a diagram which shows the 7th Iowa in the seventh and eighth lines.

⁷For a detailed account of the capture of Fort Donelson see General Service Schools, Ft. Leavenworth, *Fort Henry and Donelson Campaigns: Source Book* (Ft. Leavenworth, 1923). See also Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:199-259. At this time the 7th Iowa was in the brigade commanded by its own colonel, Jacob G. Lauman, of C. F. Smith's division. For an account of Fort Donelson written by Mahon in later life, see "Incidents of Fort Donelson," in Smith, *History of the Seventh Iowa* . . ., 41-4.

once with a supply of ammunition and in a few minutes the brigade was moving to the front on quick time. More or less firing had been heard through the morning but no attention was paid to it. We soon however, began meeting evident signs of trouble at the front in the way of stragglers coming back and fragments of batteries which had evidently been knocked out of action. As we advanced the sounds of battle became more and more plain and the conditions evidenced by the stragglers falling back became ominous. We took a position covering ground that had not yet been occupied. We did not have long to wait until the enemy advanced on our position flushed with success. Shortly after taking position the 8th Iowa Infantry was formed on the left of our brigade and thenceforth formed a part of it during the day; thus the five Iowa regiments in the following order from right to left, the 2d, 7th, 12th, 14th and 8th held this exposed position for five or six hours until from four to four thirty in the afternoon, resisting every effort of the enemy and repeatedly charging the position to dislodge them. It was the only fixed point of the Union line . . . and was only abandoned after being outflanked right and left. As we lay through the long hours we could hear the firing on both flanks gradually advancing, until when the order to retire was given the sound of firing seemed directly in our rear. The 2d and 7th regiments received the order and fell back in good order, barely escaping through the narrow outlet not yet quite closed by the enemy and exposed to a fire from both sides. The other regiments failed to receive the orders to fall back . . . and were later captured entire.⁸ . . . The two regiments were conducted quietly to a point near the Landing where they formed in the last line of defense and spent the night lying on their arms.

The next morning early they moved to the front in the second days battle supporting in reserve to Gen. Rosseau's [Brig. Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau] division of Buell's [Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell] army which had arrived during the night and took position in advance of our line. The regiment was under fire on the second day and in the afternoon occupied a battery

⁸ This spot was called "The Hornet's Nest" by the Confederates. The name was adopted by the brigade. Curiously enough, no more than 12 of the 7th Iowa were killed in this very hot fight. William F. Fox, *Regimental Losses . . . in the Civil War* (Albany, 1889), 407. Lt. Col. J. C. Parrott, who commanded during the engagement, gave the number as 9. *Report of the Adjutant General . . . State of Iowa . . . 1864*, 1059. The final official figures were 10 killed (1 officer and 9 enlisted men); 17 enlisted men wounded; and 7 enlisted men captured or missing, for a total of 34. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 101.

of the enemy after it had been practically silenced. . . . It was one of the bloodiest sights I think I ever witnessed. Every horse of the battery had been killed or wounded and most of the men, so that it was almost impossible to walk around the position without stepping in blood. This ended the battle of Shiloh so far as the 7th regiment was concerned. . . .⁹

After the battle, there was a period of rest followed by General Halleck's deliberate movement against Corinth, Mississippi. When Corinth fell without a fight, the 7th Iowa settled into Camp Montgomery about three miles east of the town. Meanwhile it had become apparent that Charles Kittredge would not again be fit for service as a company officer because of his wounds, so on June 12, 1862, Mahon received a commission as captain. He remained at the head of Company F which he had commanded as a lieutenant for more than half a year. Writing from Camp Montgomery on July 9, he said:

. . . I have been cruelly abusing your anxiety for me and I know it but . . . everything has been so unsettled before our encampment here that I had no heart to write. I would have written immediately after the Battle of Shiloh but Kittredge [wrote] 2 or 3 letters next day and that was sufficient to satisfy your anxiety. . . . There is every appearance of a permanent establishment here. One of the Divisions is fortifying the position. Stationary camp life is very dull. No society of any kind except in the Regiment. We don't see a woman once a month except once in a while some of the natives. Also a single specimen belonging to the Regt but she does not wear very clean stockings so her attractions are lost. I wish I could take a run home for a few days and see somebody and go to some of those parties you spoke of but I suppose I shall enjoy them all the more when I do get to come. A person being a long time away from home learns almost to forget it, but once in a while something strikes a chord and the feeling rushes on a person strong as before. . . . The weather is very warm here. The insect tribe is abroad in its might. Anything from a Lizard down to a flea can be had in abundance. You can see a thousand bugs and no two alike.

Largely owing to the regulations and instructions of the sur-

⁹ The 7th Iowa was in J. M. Tuttle's Brigade (First), W. H. L. Wallace's Division (Second) of the Army of the Tennessee at Shiloh. For greater detail on the battle see Otto Eisenschiml, *The Story of Shiloh* (Chicago, 1946).

geon, the health of the Regiment was excellent during the summer of 1862. Cleanliness was enforced and the food rigidly inspected.

Corinth Miss Sept 5/62

. . . I was gratified at Wills success in raising his Company. By this time he is in Keokuk tasting some of the romance of Camp life Why cant Steve go ahead and raise a company anyhow and go into some other Regt if O'Connor has abandoned raising the Irish Regt.¹⁰ I suppose by this time the fate of many of the Ottumwans is sealed and the balance are much relieved. You must write me all who are drafted that I know. I saw Kits name in the papers as Colonel of the 36th Regt which did not surprise me although I knew nothing about his plans. I am glad he got it. Will it be a Volunteer or a drafted Regt. . . . everything down here is quiet as usual The Rebels have most of their forces in front of Buell and in Kentucky. . . . We have the same routine of duties Revielle [sic] or Roll call at 5 oclock in the morning. Breakfast at 6 The camp is all policed and tents cleaned out between these hours. Then the Surgeons call is beaten at 6½ oclock and all the sick lame and lazy of the different companies are marched up and prescribed for by the Doctor. Drill Call is at 7 when we drill an hour on the parade. At 8½ the guards are mounted 12 oclock dinner call Drill Call again at 5 PM supper at 6 and dress parade at 6½ when the Regt turns out in their best clothes. Tattoo at 8 and "Taps" at 8½ when all lights must be extinguished And so passes the day the same from one weeks end to the other. Our Guard duty is very heavy at present the men standing Guard every 3 and sometimes every 2 days The labor is not so much as loosing [sic] sleep Smoking is a great luxury when a person has to be up at night. It cant be appreciated until one has campaigned for a while. it is society when you are lonesome Every soldier should smoke. The officers made a collection last week and sent by the Sutler for some books We got quite a library and some very good books among them Motleys "Rise of the Dutch Republic" and a number of other histories which are very instructive. They help to pass time

The summer quiet was broken when the Confederate forces under Generals Earl Van Dorn and Sterling Price moved against

¹⁰ Will was Mahon's brother, who had raised a company for the 36th Regiment, Iowa Infantry. Steve (Stephen Keith) was another brother who later joined the 36th Iowa as sergeant major and in time became adjutant.

the Corinth area. The 7th Iowa was so posted that it did not take a direct part in the battle of Iuka fought on September 19, 1862. It fought, however, in the battle for Corinth, October 3 and 4. This was a rough engagement in which the Regiment lost 122, or one-third of its members who participated. Mahon was sick in bed when the fight began, and he missed all of the first day. He got out of bed, however, to take part the second day.¹¹

When the Confederates were repulsed at Corinth, the quietness of the summer before once again returned to the sector. The 7th Iowa, because it was so decimated, was left in the district as part of the 1st Brigade, 2d Division, 16th Corps.¹² As a result, it did not take part in the Vicksburg campaign, but engaged instead in the passive business of holding part of the long Union line that stretched from the mouth of the Shenandoah River to the mouth of the Mississippi. The entire winter, however, was not perfectly tranquil.

Corinth Miss Jany 5/63

Our communication with the outer world is at last open for the first time since December 18th and I hasten to set any anxiety at rest which you may have had about me. . . . The railroad was destroyed by a force of 6000 Rebel cavalry and 6 guns and they held it at different points all the time eluding the Federal Forces sent against them. the 7th was in two expeditions sent after them from here but we only succeeded in marching ourselves nearly to death without seeing them the first one we started Dec 19 and marched 100 miles in 4 days making a march of 35 miles the first day the next time we started Jan 2d and marched 30 miles in 1½ days through a drenching rain and mud ankle deep Accounts reach us now that Genl Sullivan¹³ attacked near Jackson Tenn and routed them taking many prisoners and all their artillery. So that is the end of the great "equestrian raid" which has cut off all Grants communication for three weeks. Our 30 mile march was to cut them off after Sullivan whipped them but we were too late as soon as communications were cut off the Garrison were put on

¹¹ Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . , 173. The 7th lost 21 men killed, 87 wounded, and 14 captured or missing, for a total of 122 men. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 175.

¹² Previous assignments of the 7th Iowa, together with brigade, division, district, and departmental commanders, may be found in Frederick N. Dyer (compiler), *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* . . . (Des Moines, 1908), 501.

¹³ Brig. Gen. Jeremiah C. Sullivan of the U. S. Army, in command of the District of Jackson. For accounts of this engagement, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 551-3.

half rations and have been so ever since we are now eating corn meal foraged from the Country but we are thankful for that we will have plenty in a day or two our Holiday dinners were rather meagre but we had a fine Goose for New Years it was procured on a foraging expedition and if stolen Goose is sweet I think this one was stolen However he had no business to have been Goslinged in a Secesh locality. The heaviest sensation was a Grand Ball at the Tishamingo Hotel New Years there were 120 officers present from General down the district was ransacked for ladies and they succeeded in scaring up about 25 mostly officers wives and daughters and a few natives. it required ingenuity and management of a very high order to obtain a partner your humble servant succeeded tolerably well considering that many did not get to dance at all toward the last it became rather too noisy to be dignified but it was not owing to stimulating beverages for unfortunately Corinth was nearly destitute of everything in that line when the RR was cut the festivities ended by a grand choral effort on the part of the officers after the ladies had gone home which was more remarkable for quantity than quality. . . . We have just heard that Vicksburg has been taken by Genl Sherman. It seems unaccountable that Burnside has been repulsed on the Rappahannock¹⁴ he must have an immense army the east seems to be the dead lock of the War. the right man will come after a while We must only fight and wait. destiny is being worked out and it will come sooner or later.

Bethel Tenn Mar 14/63

. . . Since I last wrote we have experienced one of the vicissitudes of soldier's life a change of station We have exchanged the noisy monotony of a garrison of 8,000 men for one of 2 regts our own and the 43d Ohio. Bethel is situated 23 miles north of Corinth on the Columbus Railroad and in its palmy days consisted of a dozen houses a grocery "Emporium" a Blacksmiths shop and a meeting house. Three of the houses are now occupied by families and its commercial importance has become a myth. But the country around is pretty well settled and [there are] any amount of big girls

Col Rice¹⁵ is commander of the post and dispenses military justice in the

¹⁴ The rumor of the fall of Vicksburg was, of course, incorrect. That city held out until the following July 4. His reference concerning Burnside is about the Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862.

¹⁵ Elliott W. Rice of Oskaloosa, Iowa, who was the second commander of the Regiment. He had been made a major on August 30, 1861, being raised from a non-

Vicinity the government policy seems to be conciliating here and the people are not disturbed. Most of them are making preparations for farming the coming season. The regiments that we relieved were here since the evacuation of Corinth and got well acquainted with the people. Parties were very frequent and a number of them got married. When they went away the people came in from all directions to see them off. It seemed like leaving home. I do not know what success we will have in making the fair sex forget their sorrows and their departed lovers. I have not struck out yet but my enterprising Lieutenant has made several voyages of discovery and returned each time stepping like a turkey in stubble and seemingly much gratified. The people seem anxious to get acquainted with the soldiers to secure their good will. The prospect is that we will remain here during the summer and the only chance we have to escape a frightful monotony is to get acquainted and have the best time we can but I shall not get married without letting you know. . . . I have read "Les Miserables" all but the 4th volume which I am unable to obtain. . . . Send some good butter if you send anything. I won't write anything about my health for none of you seem to believe anything I say on that subject. . . . you can't prove me a liar by demonstration for there is not the remotest chance to obtain a furlough. . . . the weather is fine and warm we are going about in shirt sleeves. . . . All are looking toward Vicksburg. I would like to give a piece of my mind to some of your Butternut neighbors. it would be more forcible than elegant.

Bethel Tenn Apr 30/63

. . . the expedition from Corinth as I expected did not do much fighting. our troops have possession of Tuscumbia a strategic point on the Tenn River with a view of making it a point to cooperate with Rosencrans [*sic*].¹⁶ We still keep watch and ward over the classic and sacred Bethel. Since the other Regt left the orders have been very strict. no soldiers going out or citizens allowed inside the lines. the orders are merely precautionary and don't indicate any thing serious the principal trouble being felt by susceptible young Gentlemen having tender associations outside the lines whose commissioned grade to that rank. He received a colonelcy and the command of the unit after Donelson, when the first commander, Jacob G. Lauman, was made a brigadier. Both men, along with the Lt. Col. of the Regiment, Augustus Wentz of Davenport, who was killed, had been wounded at Belmont. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . ., 163ff., 171ff.

¹⁶ Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans, commander of the Army of the Cumberland.

plans and appointments are thus broken in on. . . . I have been thinking some about what you wrote in regard to the money and can understand the difficulty of doing anything with it I would like much to come home and see about it myself but fear it is impossible. if there is no good chance of investing it just let it lie. Keep the Gold and legal tender notes and use the other for spending money. We were paid 4 months pay on last Friday I sent 425\$ to Jos. H. Merrill¹⁷ do what you can with it The Co sent in all nearly 1800\$ we are now paid up to March 1st and will not probably get any more for sometime. I have kept enough to last me.

Bethel Tenn May 27/63

. . . We have not had as much to disturb us in six months as your letter describes. not even a man killed. the only foe we have here are of the feminine [sic] gender I dont think their charms will prove as destructive as the muskets of their Butternut friends in Dixie. . . . the 7th Ill is now with us at this post the other Regt having gone they are familiarly known as "Cooks Crampers" the term is significant implying that any thing alying [sic] around loose has an extreme liability to stick to their fingers. . . . it was one of that Regt that carried a heavy grindstone for a mile on the forced march from Ironton merely to keep his hand in. the two 7's will make a strong team. The weather is getting very warm but the health of the Regt continues excellent If we had a little more to do it would be better for us. We are living on the excitement of events transpiring at Vicksburg. the regret it that we are not there. We have been in the front of the chace [sic] since the war began and would like to be "in at the death" . . . I am glad there has been some disposition made of the money I was very anxious about having so large a sum about the house depositing it in Burlington is the best thing could be done at present What do you think of investing it in U. S. Bonds they will be good without the country goes to the mischief and then we might as well go with it. . . . We are living quite high in our mess at present it is composed of Lieuts [Benjamin B.] Gale and [Joseph B.] Morrison of Co D, Charley and myself We have young onions, greens, radishes, salad eggs, butter milk and best of all a good cook we often laugh over the sighs of our friends at home thinking

¹⁷ After the war Mahon engaged very successfully in the wholesale grocery business in Ottumwa with Joseph H. Merrill. The firm name, J. H. Merrill & Co., lasted until 1915 when it was changed to Samuel Mahon Co. That was the year of Mahon's death.

that we are living on rusty bacon and hard crackers but there is no telling how long our epicurean life will last. for a Soldier knows not what days may bring forth We have however philosophy to enjoy it while it lasts

Corinth Miss June 8/63

. . . we are again back at Corinth greatly to our disgust. Bethel is evacuated by the federals all except what affections were left behind. . . . It is horribly dismal today we all have the blues. all the other Regts here built fine frame barracks since we left and we are back and have nothing but old tents their resistance of moisture is now being tried sorely for it is raining like the mischief. . . . When marching orders came . . . Ah then and there were hurryings to and from and gathering of tears and tremblings of distress and cheeks all pale. . . . the 7th will long remember Bethel it has been the poetical part of their war career both as regards love and good rations some took one and some the other. Alas! goodbye pretty girls. . . . Angels that deigned to lighten the path of the "cursed" Yankees with their smiles and let them "set up" with them and perhaps occasionally grant a chaste kiss.

Corinth Miss June 24th/63

. . . We are up to our eyes in work on our barracks the wet weather having delayed us. . . . I attended a grand presentation of a stand of Colors to the 1st Alabama Africans last week. . . . there were a number of speeches made. two of the Negroes spoke they were rather amusing and made some good hits without knowing it the first one speaking of the amalgamation feature of slavery pointing to a number of Negro children who were present. look said he look at the *stain* of the white mans blood in the faces of one half of your children. . . . They were a fine looking body of men and I dont think they will disgrace their colors.

Corinth Miss July 17/63

. . . We have been preparing for some time for a prize drill which transpired on the 15th. The two best drilled companies from each of the 4 Regiments in the Brigade were the competitors [sic] My company was honored with being chosen from the 7th the other company from the 7th was Co D from Fort Madison 8 companies in all it was a fine sight in every respect. Appearance dress and drill. My men all had white gloves. each company drilled for 1/2 hour in the manual and maneuvers in "quick" and "double quick" time. The drill was splendid you could not discover the variation of an inch in the line of men as they rushed by on the Double

Quick. Mine was the first company that went through the ordeal under the eyes of the whole Division Genl Dodge, Genl Sweeney¹⁸ and others too numerous to mention it was pretty hard on the nerves at first but that soon wore off the decision has not been announced yet Col Rice sent me an order complimenting me in the highest terms on the performance of my company. . . . everybody is anxious to hear the decisions. the prize is to be honorably mentioned in general orders from departmental Head Quarters at Memphis You will think probably that this is very different kind of work from fighting but it all goes to make up the sum of a soldier. . . .

Moscow Tenn August 23/63

The old adage that "fools build houses and wise men live in them" was never better verified than in our case. You will very naturally inquire where Moscow is. I answer it is not that celebrated city where the great European Conqueror got his fatal blow but it is an inland city on the C & M RR about half way between Memphis and Corinth. . . . In just two hours time from when we first heard it we cast a last sorrowing glance at our fast receding Barracks. . . . I lay on top of a car preferring it to the crowded inside and had a fine opportunity to study astronomy and estimate the precise amount of dew it takes to wet a man through. We arrived at our destination next day. A cursory view of Moscow revealed the fact that the population consisted of one man a woman a boy and a baby. The quartette keep a hotel and a very dirty one too. . . . We marched out to our camp ground a waste of Rag Weed and grasshoppers. . . . How long we will stay here the Lord only knows but I hope not long. I have just recd a detail to report as a member of a Court Martial at La Grange 8 miles up the road. . . .

La Grange Oct 20th/1863

. . . We have had a hard time but not in the fighting line. The evening of my arrival information was received of the advance of the enemy with the intention of cutting the road Our Brigade was immediately started after them with 3 days rations and our blankets instead of 3 days we were out

¹⁸ Grenville M. Dodge, of Council Bluffs, original colonel of the 4th Iowa, had been promoted to brigadier general, March 31, 1862, and had assumed command of the left wing of the 16th Army Corps on July 8, 1863. See Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . , 109-116; and J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War, The Life of General G. M. Dodge* (Indianapolis, 1929). Thomas W. Sweeney had served in the Mexican War, in the U. S. Army, and with the Missouri Volunteers during the Civil War until appointed colonel of the 52nd Illinois. He was commissioned a brigadier general on Nov. 29, 1862. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 18: 242-3.

10 foraging on the country for rations and breaking our hearts marching after cavalry which we vainly attempted to catch. Their object was not to fight but to destroy the road and they eluded us at every point. . . . the day after we started out the enemy attacked Collierville which was garrisoned by a part of the 66th Ind Infy about 300 men. Supposing they would fall an easy prey and the enemy could then destroy the road from that point but the accidental arrival of the 13th Regulars on the Memphis train which had also on board Maj Genl Sherman and his whole staff enabled them to beat off the enemy with severe loss. Three of the nights we were out it rained very hard which we took as philosophically as we could. one comfort we had and that was plenty to eat. part of the country we marched through had never before been visited by our army and we helped ourselves liberally. the feathered tribe were the especial object of attack. . . . some of the country was almost a paradise, the Houses were magnificent but the hand of the ruthless invader despoiled them. . . . We had our election on the march the Regt cast 306 votes Tuttle¹⁹ only got one. There was 29 votes cast for the Wapello County ticket all Union. it may interest some of the county candidates to know how we went. the soldiers vote may beat the Copperhead majority in the County.

Pulaski Tenn Nov 12/63

. . . Here we are again in communication with the outer world. We left Iuka Miss on the 5th crossed the Tenn at Eastport the same day. We had a rough time of it too our Regt worked hard all night loading and unloading Baggage trains artillery etc on the ferry boats it was a cold night and our train for the Regt with our blankets was the last over and that night we had to do without them it took 50 and 60 men to haul the pieces of Artillery up the steep banks of the river. All were got over about nine oclock next morning and at 11 we bid good bye to the outer world. We marched 11 miles that day and went into camp tired sleepy after marching 2 days and working hard one night without any rest. . . . Next day we marched 13 miles and did not get into camp till midnight we were delayed pulling the artillery through some infernal swamps minus a bottom. the 7th formed the rear guard and had to help everything out the next day we

¹⁹ James M. Tuttle, colonel of the 2nd Iowa, had been promoted to brigadier general June 9, 1862. In 1863 he was nominated for governor of Iowa on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated by a colonel—Wm. M. Stone. For sketch of Tuttle's war service, see Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . ., 51-8.

marched 23 miles through a beautiful country next day 18 and the next 18 arriving here yesterday having marched 82 miles from the Tenn River in 5 days which is pretty well considering that the men had to carry about 45 lbs each and we have a provision and ammunition train of about 300 wagons to guard. The rest of Shermans corps kept 2 days ahead of us all the time and I dont know their whereabouts. Our Division marched by itself Pulaski is 75 miles from Nashville and 50 from Tullahoma There is a RR running from here to Nashville but it is only repaired from Nashville to Columbia about thirty miles from here our wagon trains start to Columbia in the morning for ration with a Cavalry Guard and that is the way this letter is going Pulaski is a very pretty town as large as Ottumwa the Rebs have occupied it all summer how long we remain here I dont know. . . . I stood the march finely did not ride one step of the way We looked rather rough however when we got through We were unshaved unwashed and dirty as you please. I meditate a grand scrub this evening and expect to enjoy the luxury of a clean shirt. I brought Fannies wine with me and am waiting patiently for a chance to use it medicenally [sic]. the brandy was used as a preventive to chills and fever of cold mornings. . . . direct letters via Nashville Tenn to 7th Regt Iowa Infy, 1st Brigade, 2d Division, 16th Army Corps

Pulaski Tenn Dec 11th/63

. . . Things here progress smoothly no news no nothing. We have worked on our quarters till like Peggoty we are "pretty comfortable" the report now is that Grants whole army are going into winter quarters I recd my trunk from Corinth via Nashville a few days ago and rejoiced once more in a white shirt also my books and I intend immediately to prosecute French vigorously. . . . I have at length become acquainted with one of the "dark eyed darlings" of Pulaski only her eyes are blue and her hair molasses candy colored. She sings the Bonnie Blue Flag with a vengeance and talks about the brave and heroic Southern Boys. and then I laugh at her and cite her to instances where they have displayed remarkable capacity in the athletic and healthy exercise of running. her Father is immensely wealthy he generously freed his 100 slaves when our forces took possession here and he could hold them no longer. Miss Laura is horrified at the idea of making soldiers of them. the thought of the dear Southern Boys being shot by a "nigger" was terrible. Nobody who had not seen a good deal of slavery can concieve [sic] in what utter contempt they hold the

negro. . . . There are plenty of young ladies here but they all have some long haired individual in the Rebel army who engrosses their whole attention to the utter exclusion of the abominable Yankees. I think they will get a little more used to it after a while. . . . The Regt was paid off yesterday 2 months pay $\frac{1}{2}$ of my pay was stopped during my "Leave of Absence" going home is pretty expensive but I did not regret it. I shall send some money home tomorrow. In regard to my going into the Regular Service I shall be only too glad if I succeed. The Regts time will be out in 8 months and it is uncertain now whether the war will last much longer. after the war there will be thousands of young men thrown on civil life with nothing to do and every department of Business filled and the lord knows what will become of many of them. besides I am afraid I shall not be fit for much else. I like a military life and 3 years service goes far toward unfitting a man for any other occupation and if it becomes a matter of necessity I can resign at any time. In the Regular Army I likely will not be placed in active service and will stand a chance of seeing more of you all than I do now. All the detached duty in the northern states is done by Regular Army Officers and especially newly appointed ones

Pulaski Tenn Dec 28/63

. . . part of the train consisted of contributions from Iowa for a Christmas treat for the 2nd and 7th each company got quite a lot of can fruits and nuts of different kinds but the beauty of it all was they sent several boxes of common Turnips. . . . I am afraid the turnip donor was not appreciated. We made the trip just in time for Christmas When I got back I found the Regt in an uproar about enlisting in the Veteran Service Co F was awaiting my return. Next day the matter was started and up to this time 34 men have reenlisted I enclose their names We are now waiting to get mustered in before starting home on a thirty days Furlough in the State. The Company goes as a Company taking with us our arms accoutrements and camp equip[a]ge. . . . We are all looking forward anxiously to the time when we will march through the streets of old Ottumwa that we left nearly 3 years ago. The only sad feeling is in looking over the thinned ranks and thinking of the many brave boys that left never to return now sleeping their last sleep under Southern bloodsoaked sod no more to be roused by the shrill bugle call or hoarse roll of the drum to prepare for the midnight surprise or deadly charge Many a tearful mother will look in vain for some loved form upon which she invoked Gods blessing with a

breaking heart when he went forth at Sumpters [sic] signal gun to fight for his country Well they have fought a good fight and gone to a merciful god. It would be very gratifying to the company to get some kind of a reception on their arrival but of course it would not do for me to prompt the movement. it could be gotten up very easily by some of the leading spirits in town. I would write Joe Merrill if I had time but am very busy in making out an endless amount of papers and returns. The company expect some kind of a public reception and they ought to get it. I would like to have the Band at the Depot when we come in as we shall have no music with us except a bugle. . . . I shall telegraph from Nashville Cairo or Decatur what day we may be expected so that the friends may be in readiness to receive [sic] them. . . . let Ottumwa do her best. . . . better have the fact of our coming and the list of names published in the Courier

Mahon had his wish, and Ottumwa turned out to welcome the veterans of Company F. As is always the case, the furlough was too soon over. Hardly had it seemed to start than February 27 arrived and the Regiment was on its way from Keokuk by steamboat to return to the field. Although they did not know it, the Veteran Volunteers of the 7th Iowa were about to embark on their first service in the line since the battle of Corinth, October 3 and 4, 1862.²⁰ After eighteen months free of major engagements, they were about to enter some of their roughest fighting.

Prospect Tenn Mch 9/64

[We came] by River all the way and arrived in Pulaski in just one week from Keokuk We got to Pulaski in the evening and were ordered next morning at daylight to march to this place 17 miles south of P—— you may believe it was a rough introduction after our Furlough. . . . the mud was boot top deep and we floundered along casting many a retrospective thought back on our now vanished Furloughs. I remembered bitterly and my stomach ably abetted my memory over the cozy Breakfasts Fannie used to fix for me and thought what an infernal fool I was not to eat more. . . . my furlough seems like some dream I can hardly realize I have been home

²⁰ They were joining Sherman's campaign into Georgia. The 7th Iowa remained with Sherman thereafter until the end of the grand review in Washington, D. C., May 23, 24, 1865. For a brief military study of the movement against Atlanta see Matthew Forney Steele, *American Campaigns* (2 vols., Harrisburg, Pa., 1949), 1:535-54; 2:281-8. For more elaborate accounts see Jacob D. Cox, *The March to the Sea* (New York, 1882); Grenville M. Dodge, *The Battle of Atlanta and Other Campaigns* (Council Bluffs, 1911).

it reminds me of Mohammets visit to heaven. I am at present supporting the dignity of Commander of the Regt and also the Post both field Officers being absent I hope the elevation wont spoil me as I shall be let down this evening when Col Parrott arrives . . .²¹ everything looks like spring except the absence of any farm work. the plantations are mostly deserted every thing has the mark of War Devastating and destructive the contrast is greater by seeing every thing in Iowa going along in peace and quietness

Camp Chickamauga Creek Ga May 6/64

. . . the day after I wrote our Corps got marching orders and two days afterwards saw us all enroute for this place.²² . . . We left Prospect on the 29th and marched out 12 miles joining our Division next morning two more days marching brought us to Huntsville Ala. . . . Huntsville is a very pretty place with a beautiful country around it but all more or less marred by the destruction incidental to mass desolation we left the town next morning and marched 15 miles and went into Camp to enjoy a good nights rest on Uncle Sams feathers which being translated means the ground. No mortal can appreciate the blessing of sleep till they make a campaign. . . . the next day we were put through to the tune of 25 miles in order to reach the RR at Larkinsville to take the train to Chattanooga We were awfully tired that night the distance is equivalent to marching from Ottumwa to Oskaloosa only we had a mountain road instead of a level one. I fared pretty well but it was hard on the men who had to carry their knap-

²¹ Lt. Col. J. C. Parrott was in command of the 7th Iowa. Rice, who was still colonel and in nominal command, was acting as commander of a brigade composed of the 2nd and 7th Iowa, the 52nd Illinois, and the 66th Indiana.

²² "We broke camp May 1st, and started on the march overland to Chattanooga to join the army under General Sherman to take part in the Atlanta campaign." Smith, *History of the Seventh Iowa* . . ., 113. For Sherman's own account of this campaign, see *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1891), Vol. 2. See also Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1932). Grant had been promoted to command of the armies, and Sherman had taken Grant's place in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, which comprised the Departments of the Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee, and Arkansas. The plan of campaign was for Grant to move against Lee in the East, and for Sherman to take Atlanta and proceed southward through Georgia, thus cutting the Confederacy in two. The date set for the combined movement was May 5, 1864. Sherman's troops consisted of the Army of the Cumberland, under Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas; the Army of the Tennessee, under Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson (the 7th Iowa was attached to this Army, being in the 1st Brigade, 2d Division, of the 16th Army Corps, commanded by Maj. Gen. Grenville M. Dodge); and the Army of the Ohio, under command of Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield; a total of 110,123 men. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, 89-117.

sacks canteens and haversacks with 3 days Rations and their arms and accoutrements and 40 rounds of ammunition. they stood it though as a soldier must. My recruits stand it better than I expected. One of them was sunstruck the first day but he was able to march the next. . . . We reached Chattanooga next evening distant 60 miles by RR disembarked and went into Camp for the night here I saw Lookout Mountain and the famous Mission Ridge the scene of Grants late glory²³ the mountains tower up several thousand feet. the Lord knows how our troops ever stormed it but they did it that is certain. Chattanooga is an insignificant struggling little town important only from its strategic position Next morning (yesterday) we marched south from Chattanooga 14 miles and are lying here today waiting for orders. . . . There is an immense army concentrating here. When we were coming into Chattanooga on the RR the road which runs Parallell [sic] to the RR was one continuous column of men for 15 miles. there are 5 Army Corps here so if you hear of any fighting you must not take it for granted we are in it.

Dallas Georgia May 30th 1864

. . . I am writing this on an old letter recd from one of my men being unable to get other paper. We are now occupying a fortified position near Dallas. Co F has lost no more men since the Oostanaula except two slightly wounded²⁴ We made a forced march from Kingston marching almost day and night but are in good health and spirits except being fatigued. The enemy attacked our position on the 28th but was repulsed with the loss of about 4000 men our loss was almost nothing. our Brigade which took part in the fight hardly lost a dozen men. so much for our fortifications.²⁵ last night (Sunday) the enemy made several determined attacks on our position but was repulsed every time the fight lasted all night. the firing was ter-

²³ For Grant's victory at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge (also known as the Battle of Chattanooga) in November, 1863, see Lewis, *Sherman* . . . , 318ff; *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1886), 2:61-88; Sherman, *Memoirs* . . . , 1:392ff.

²⁴ The crossing of the Oostanaula River on May 15, 1864, at Lay's Ferry had resulted in a sharp fight for the 7th Iowa in which it lost 61 men. Report of Lt. Col. Parrott, *Report of the Adjutant General* . . . *State of Iowa* . . . 1864, 1061. Many years later Mahon wrote an account of this encounter for the regimental history. Smith, *History of the Seventh Iowa* . . . , 120-22.

²⁵ The 7th Iowa fought behind breastworks for the first time at Dallas. Thereafter, they threw up hasty field fortifications whenever they halted. This was one of the innovations in warfare to come out of the Civil War. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . , 175-6.

rific. today we are sleeping as well as the skirmishers will allow us. they keep a continual rattle in front but we are getting pretty well used to it. some of the Regts fired 80 rounds of ammunition last night. . . . We have reports this morning that the Rebels lost 4000 men in front of Hooker²⁶ last night we heard the firing before our ball opened. We would be a tough looking set of customers now to present ourselves in Ottumwa. I am tanned as black as a pot, dirty and seedy. have not seen my valise for ten days. our principal cares are our Arms and ammunition and something to wear. Much the most important items in this country. . . . we are 30 miles from Atlanta. . . .

In the Field near Marietta Ga June 26th/64

. . . I sometimes think I am the most fortunate individual in the circle of my acquaintance. So far I am all right my health is excellent and I enjoy it as well as one can in a bake oven. You speak of not getting letters from me regularly. . . . I have written almost every mail. every paper we get chronicles some fight Sherman has had and then I think well when the folks read this they will be in a stew and forthwith I write to some of you announcing the continued excellence of my very valuable health and the still whole condition of my skin and bones I got nearly angry when you asked me if it was myself was wounded. I wish you would try to look on the bright side . . . and not always think the world has formed a coalition for the express purpose of decieving [sic] you. . . . Our division is at present in the Reserve Line the Rebs are on two Mountains that rise abruptly out of the plain immediately in our front.²⁷ most of the fighting on this part of the line is Artillery and skirmishing we are literally digging them out advancing inch by inch. Their works are in plain view on the face of the Mountain and their artillery fire especially at night makes a grand display of fireworks this position is their strong hold to cover Atlanta. once we are in possession of this tis said we can march direct on that city. the lines are very quiet today usually so noisy. Why I cannot say. a person

²⁶ Joseph Hooker who had been in command of the Army of the Potomac when it was beaten at Chancellorsville. With Sherman's Army he was in command of the 20th Army Corps, Army of the Cumberland.

²⁷ There were actually three so-called "mountains" in the vicinity—Kenesaw, Pine, and Lost—where the Confederates were entrenched. Pine Mountain had been abandoned when Sherman's forces moved to attack it on June 15; Lost Mountain was abandoned on June 16, and the defense concentrated on Kenesaw. It took Sherman's army until July 4 to take Kenesaw Mountain. See Sherman, *Memoirs* . . ., 2:50-64.

is not expected to know anything down here only to do as you are told and eat all you can get the latter is by no means difficult as regards quantity. . . . I want a pair of boots Mr. Miller has my measure. I want Calf Skin single upper, double sole square toes wide heels. . . . have him make them and send them down to me the first chance you get of any body coming down dont send them by express there is none here send me some postage stamps in next letter.

Near Roswell Ga July 15th 1864

. . . While we were pursuing the Rebs after their retreat from Kenesaw Mountain there was no time to do anything. the 4th of July was quite lively there were several attacks made on different points of the Rebel line of retreat but no general engagement. Our Brigade was only engaged as skirmishers except the Artillery but we had to build a line of Rifle pits under fire of the Reb Batteries just enough to make the men work lively our regt lost only a few men. it was about the quickest piece of work completed I ever saw. . . . on the 8th our Corps was moved from the Right to the extreme left 25 miles and we are now across the Chattahoochie River at a point 9 miles east of Marietta. We had to wade the River as the Rebs burnt the bridge behind them. it is larger than the Demoine [sic] at Ottumwa and was waist deep in some places. Our Corps crossed in two Columns the sight was decidedly picturesque. . . . we fortified our position and have been here since taking it easy and picking Blackberries. . . . a detail is made to pick them the men taking their arms with them they are the best thing could be possibly had for the Army in their present sanitary condition.

Before Atlanta Ga Aug 6th 64

. . . We are . . . protected by heavy works our only wish is that the Rebs would attack them but they are getting too sharp for that. . . . everything has been quiet in our front since the battle of the 28th except some sharp skirmishing and artillery duels which hurt nobody the left wing of our Regt had a warm time of it day before yesterday being out on picket the picket line was ordered to be advanced they went forward on a run easily driving the enemys pickets some half a mile where they halted and were throwing up hasty defenses but the Rebs came out in force before they got them done and our fellows came back a good deal faster than they went with a loss of 8 men. I consider it getting off cheap at that. we thought for a while that most of the whole five companies were gobbled.

Co F was not in the scrape. . . . We can see the city. Its spires and cupolas glittering in the sun and seeming to defy the Yankee invader outside May its pride fall the way Babylons fell. My faith is strong. I am now in command of the Regt being the Senior Captain the Major having resigned and Col Parrott is sick in Hospital. the old gentleman is about worn out he cant stand it much longer everybody advises him to go out of service but he hangs on I gave the Major an invitation to call at the House. . . . Several of the Boys who have gone home will call. treat them the best you know how. . . . One great beauty about commanding the Regt is I can ride instead of having to march.

Mahon's commission as major was dated August 7. He replaced the resigning officer, James W. McMullin, and was known as Major Mahon throughout the rest of his life.

Before Atlanta Ga Aug 22nd 64

. . . there is nothing new to relate in regard to operations Our hammering away at Atlanta has become an old story and we are waiting patiently for the sequel by Genl Sherman. . . . Genl Dodge was wounded on the skirmish line a few days ago. he commands the left wing 16th Corps the wound is severe but not dangerous. Sergt Balcom who was wounded on the 22d has recd a furlough. he lives in Chillicothe. when he returns send down the boots by him. . . . I am now wearing a pair that could vie without blushing with a pair of Connaught Brogans. they are very good but like the man and the Bed bugs I have not the strength to spare to carry them. fortunately there is not much locomotion required. . . . they have put a 4½ inch Rodman Siege Gun in a fort about 40 feet from my Hdqts. It is fired at the city every 10 minutes day and night. it is not the best opiate in the world to produce sleep but we are getting used to it and snore away²⁸

HdQtrs 7th Iowa Infy Rome Ga Oct 3rd 64

. . . Our division was ordered up here very suddenly on the . . . ult with 4 days rations in Haversacks and in light marching order We came here on the train bringing no wagons and supposed we would be pushed out through the Country . . . on a raid but we were put in camp and are waiting patiently for our baggage to come up. . . . there were 2 RR Trains captured between here and Atlanta day before yesterday and there

²⁸ Atlanta fell, after a long siege, on September 2, 1864. Sherman, *Memoirs* . . ., 2:96-136.

is an unpleasant rumor in circulation that our Wagon Train and Baggage has also "gone up." . . . if it should turn out true my Valise and promiscuous traps are doubtless by this time contributing to the toilet of some ragged Cavalier of the [illegible] persuasion. . . . Rome has been a very pretty place supported a considerable aristocracy and was lighted with Gas its glory and gaslight have departed and the best houses in town are in use as hospitals where most of the sick and wounded in the Army of the Tenn have been sent during the summer there were at one time as many as 4000 sick and wounded in the place. . . . Col Parrott has not yet returned probably on account of the communication being again interrupted Genl Forrest²⁹ being at present in charge of the RR between Chattanooga and Nashville. . . . We havnt had a Mail for nearly two weeks and have almost quit expecting one. I am writing this so it will go through on the first train that gets over the road. We have not been paid yet for some unknown reason. It will be quite a new sensation to have money in ones pocket everybody here is strapped alike

Rome Ga Oct 22nd 64

. . . Military matters have been pretty lively here since the Altoona [Allatoona] affair our Division has not been with the Main Army.³⁰ We are nevertheless kept constantly moving about Rome in every point of the Compass. Genl Hood³¹ it seems after attacking Altoona marched directly north and before he could be headed off took Dalton and played smash with the Road this is only 30 miles from Chattanooga. On Shermans coming up he skedaddled again passing him and struck south and the Lord only knows where he is now. My private opinion is that Genl Sherman was slightly out witted in the movement but the thing only amounted to a raid making the most of it and the RR can be repaired in a few days. The Rebel Army is now so much inferior in numbers they can attempt nothing permanently offensive. . . .

Rome Ga Nov 5th 64

I recd your letter of 27th Oct this evening the first I have recd for some

²⁹ Nathan Bedford Forrest, celebrated Confederate cavalry leader.

³⁰ Due to a railroad accident, the 7th Iowa did not reach Allatoona on October 5, 1864, until the bloody battle was already won. *Report of the Adjutant General . . . State of Iowa . . . 1864*, 1061.

³¹ General John B. Hood in command of the Confederate army opposing Sherman's invasion. Hood was given the command after Joseph E. Johnston was relieved July 17, 1864.

time. . . . I wrote an account of the Altoona affair but presume you did not get the letter. Mails in this country have become problematical. My valise came through all right. . . . I was rather surprised at hearing of Ottumwa becoming a base of military operations. I should like to have seen the forces drawn up in line. Kittredge must have been proud of his army. . . . the Rebel Army have crossed north of the Tenn River and the Army of the Cumberland is after them. We (the Army of the Tenn) are preparing for a long campaign in some unknown direction. everything is being removed from Rome preparatory to an evacuation. all the large Hospitals are gone north. We are stripped of all surplus Baggage all tents etc and have sent all men unable to march to Chattanooga fully prepared for a fight or a race. Our Division will leave this place tomorrow or next day for Atlanta to join the Army. My theory is that we will make a break for either Mobile or Savannah cutting loose from all communication and subsist on the Country which can be easily done. it will be rather a rough physic on the bowels of the Confederacy. they have no adequate force to oppose us as the Main Rebel Army is in Tenn confronted by the Army of the Cumberland. What they are trying to accomplish the Lord only knows for by the movement they have left all Southern Georgia open to our inroads. We expect to be paid 8 months pay tomorrow. We have waited long and patiently for it. I shall make a remittance if I get an opportunity of sending it by any person. dont be uneasy if you dont hear from me very soon as we may "cut loose" any hour. . . .³²

Savannah Ga Dec 22/64

I sent Fanny a letter day before yesterday with a short account of our campaign. Yesterday morning it was discovered that the enemy had left our front. at daylight the line was pushed across the Causeway and at noon we entered Savannah capturing the few remaining Rebels³³ the main body

³² Sherman was preparing his troops for his famous march through Georgia to the sea, which began on November 15, 1864, when his troops left Atlanta. Sherman, *Memoirs* . . . , 2:177. The 7th Iowa, now under the command of Brig. Gen. John M. Corse (Dodge having been wounded in the fighting around Atlanta), was a part of the 1st Brigade, 4th Division, 15th Army Corps, which was a part of Sherman's right wing under command of Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIV, 20.

³³ Sherman had reached the sea and Savannah fell on December 21, 1864, whereupon he triumphantly telegraphed to President Lincoln: "I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about 25,000 bales of cotton." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIV, 783.

having escaped across the River (Savannah) the night before and made their way into South Carolina. We supposed the City was entirely invested but this one loophole was left and they got out through it. . . . they left everything women in their flight barely getting away with their men. about 200 cannon immense quantities of Ammunition RR Cars etc fell into our hands. . . . all the Rebel fleet including 2 Ironclads we captured or were destroyed. the city is much the handsomest I have yet seen in the South and the people appear well disposed toward the "invaders" in fact they petitioned the Rebel Genl Hardee to give up the place without fighting. An assault was planned for the following night . . . but the evacuation has given some of us a little longer lease of our previous existense [sic] You remember I wrote in my last that in our front there was a deep creek and swamp Well on the night of the 19th I took a small boat and 4 men and had it carried for half a mile through a swamp launched it and crossed the Creek under 2 of the Rebel Batteries. the object was to find some ground on the opposite bank practible [sic] for troops to land. I paddled down the Creek some distance using a spade for oars but found nothing but bottomless marsh overgrown with tall reeds I returned just in time to our own side as the moon which was just rising would have revealed our movements. higher up the River however the other Brigade discovered a practicable landing and here the assault was to have been made the troops crossing in boats but the evacuation made it unnecessary. the weather is splendid and we are all in fine spirits. a few days rest then Ho for Charleston the hot bed of treason. Shermans columns will make short work of it. South Carolina cried out the first for war, and she shall have it to her hearts content. She sowed the Wind. She will soon reap the Whirlwind³⁴ she will yet weep tears of blood for her folly in firing at our glorious old flag. . . . Well may she tremble. her insolence will avail her but little now.

I would like to be with you all at Christmas to enjoy some of your home preparations but I guess Ill not come this time

Savannah Ga Jany 15th 65

. . . It seems an age since I heard from home last my latest dates are

³⁴ Sherman is charged by many, historians among them, with having indoctrinated his troops in methods of warfare that violated the rules of civilized conflict. Be that as it may, Mahon's metaphor was one Sherman himself used; see Sherman to Mrs. Sherman, June 27, 1863, in M. A. De Wolfe Howe (ed.), *Home Letters of General Sherman* (New York, 1909), 158, 159. In no place in any of Mahon's letters is there the slightest sympathy shown for the Southern civilians who were the victims of Sherman's methods.

Dec 10th. . . . some of the letters must get lost in trying to find us. . . . I am at present on duty in the City on a court martial the Division is about 2 miles out of Town so I have taken up quarters and board in town and am living in style. . . . the Family took a good deal of pains to inform us that they never kept Boarders before but they would rather have us on account of getting protection. they are very pleasant however and do all they can for us. . . . I attended the Presbyterian Church this morning the building was crowded citizens and soldiers all together it is the first opportunity I have had of entering a church since leaving home last winter. it awakened some old and powerful associations that seemed almost forgotten [sic]. I have felt better all day and shall attend regularly while I remain in the City. . . . Our Corps was reviewed again last week by Genl Sherman in the City it made a good appearance. all of the 4 Divisions were on review some 50 regiments and 4 batteries. the day was fine and the rich strains of the Brass bands mingled with the rattle of the drums made everybody lively and enthusiastic as far as you could see up the long street the dense mass of Bayonets filled its whole breadth. as the different Regiments passed the General in Chief he saluted their torn and tattered flags that rode out the storm of many a Battle with a reverence that was almost worship all glory to him he is proud of his army and they would follow him to death. You need not be surprised to hear of a movement here any day in fact it has already commenced. . . . our Division will get away probably the latter part of the week The Secty of War is now here on a visit to the Army and is scattering Genls commissions broadcast Genl Corse has been Brevetted Major General for gallantry at Allatoona. every Division Genl in our Corps has been made a Major Genl. . . . Did you receive that Draft for 750\$ I sent before leaving Rome I fear it has been lost in the mail I want to know so I can take measures to procure a duplicate

Savannah Ga Jany 25/65

I received your letter of the 8th inst two days ago. I was almost angry when I found you said nothing in it about that 750\$ Draft whether it has been received or not I have mentioned it in every letter I have written since coming to Savannah. . . . Most of the Army has left here.³⁵ Our

³⁵ On January 19, 1865, Sherman's forces began to move northward through the Carolinas, to join forces with Grant who was before Richmond. Sherman, *Memoirs* . . . , 2:253.

Division started on the 19th but owing to a heavy rain Storm which began in the morning and the enemys cavalry cutting the dykes of the Savannah River up the Country the road became impassible after wading around in mud and water all day we were very glad to escape back to the City. Some of the Troops who were farther out than we had a serious time of it but finally all got out. . . . I have been sick for several days in consequence of my wetting of the 19th disease diarrhea [sic]

Tell Fannie this is the first money I have sent home since I was home last winter it was the first time we recieved [sic] pay during the time. tell her also she may close the account at Merrills if she thinks it best if the 750\$ is all right try and secure 500\$ more bank stock

Goldsboro N. C. Mch 28/65

We have again come to light once more at this place after being immersed for nearly two months in the heart of the Confederacy our Corps reached here on the 24th the rest of the Army being one day in advance.³⁶ . . . Yesterday we recieved [sic] all our back mail in one lot. I recd a number of letters the latest from yourself being Feby 28th and nothing yet from poor Steve³⁷ I had hoped to hear of his release by the time we got through poor fellow he is getting a bitter taste of the War. . . . The campaign just closed has thrown the Georgia Campaign far in the shade I can give you no conception of the Swamps of South and North Carolina the army waded in water for days. at South River the 7th Regt with their cartridge Boxes tied around their necks waded a swamp $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile across up to their waists in Water in order to flank the enemy and drive them away from the crossing on the road and then lay all night without anything to eat or even a Blanket the Knapsack having been left on the other side this is about the way the whole Campaign has been performed. We had heavy fighting 3 days before entering Goldsboro it fell principally on the 14th and 20th Corps the Rebels in a desperate effort to drive Sherman back attacked them while the other two Corps were 9 miles distant on another road they however repulsed every attack but losing heavily. While we by dint of hard marching all night we passed round the Rebel flank and

³⁶ Goldsboro, N. C., was 425 miles from Savannah. By March 24 Sherman's whole army reached Goldsboro. Sherman called this "one of the longest and most important marches ever made by an organized army in a civilized country." *Ibid.*, 2:306.

³⁷ His brother, Stephen Keith, had been captured with his Regiment, the 36th Iowa, on April 25, 1864, at Marks Mill, Arkansas. He was imprisoned at Tyler, Texas.

by daylight next morning were bowling down the road in the Rebel rear they however discovered their situation [in] time enough to get out but not without serious loss our loss in the two days fighting foots up 3000 the Rebels fully double that number. We are now camped near the Town waiting for clothing supplies ect [sic] preparatory to another start. . . .

Morrisville N. C. Apr 19th/65

. . . ere this reaches you you will have heard the glorious news of Johnsons [sic] surrender to Sherman both of his Army and all the states from the Rio Grande to the Atlantic. . . .³⁸ the work of the Army is done a few months easy duty and then like Othello our occupation will be gone. then the grave question arises what will a person go to work at it is rather a serious question with your humble servant coming as he does under the general Scripture dispensation by the Sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread. if you happen to light on any chance for a "promising young man" of slender means of a good opening in the world please let me know the openings in this country have always been of too *grave* a character and so have kept out of them. . . . Our joy at the glorious termination of the war has been checked by the announcement of our beloved Presidents death it shocked the whole army from Private to Genl and well was it for the South that Johnson surrendered as he did had Shermans Army again been compelled to march through the country against the Rebels they would have heaped a vengeance high against the people that sanctioned the act of the bloody assassin. the Rebel Genl Johnson denied any knowledge in the deed and professed himself deeply pained. . . .

Petersburg Va May 8th 65

We have again turned up at this far famed city having marched across the country from Raleigh N. C. making the distance 150 miles in 7 days including the crossing of 2 Rivers which had to be pontooned the march has been extraordinary for its rapidity considering the size of the Army the only way we can account for the haste is the rivalry among the Corps Commanders each one trying to out march the other. Our Corps beat them

³⁸ Just as Sherman left for his meeting with the Confederate commander, Joseph E. Johnston, on April 17, he received word of the assassination of President Lincoln. Fearing reprisals by his soldiers on the people, he kept the assassination a secret from his own officers, but did reveal it to Johnston, who thereupon agreed to secure permission to surrender all the remaining Confederate forces. (Lee had surrendered to Grant on April 9.) Johnston's surrender took place the following day, April 18, 1865. Sherman, *Memoirs* . . . , 2:347-54.

all and recd a complimentary telegram from Genl Grant for the race. . . . tomorrow we take up the line of march for Washington where it is supposed we will be paid off and mustered out of Service. it will take some time to do this however and in the meantime tis understood we are to have a grand review in Washington after drawing new Uniforms at Alexandria. they want to dress us up in becoming style and put on all the flourishes before appearing to the fastidious Washingtonians. for my part I [would] rather go up Pennsylvania Avenue as we marched through Goldsboro after the Carolina Campaign. Ragged dusty and weather beaten we would look more natural besides creating a decided sensation. . . . we will be near Washington by next Sunday that will complete our circuit around the Confederacy on our march to this place no foraging was allowed and the inhabitants were carefully protected they came from all directions to the road to see the troops pass and expressed themselves rejoiced that the war was over. . . . The Army here is justly indignant at the way the northern papers are "coming down" on Genl Sherman³⁹ 3/4 of it all is a dirty political trick practiced by some Washington politicians to injure his reputation because they are afraid of his splendid record and the people always duped are swallowing it all. . . . they were cheaply patriotic building bonfires . . . at the announcement of the Victories achieved in the far South when the fate of the Nation depended on Sherman and his army in their perilous marches through the heart of the Confederacy and when defeat would have been annihilation and after their bonfires and speeches they go home and feel they have done their duty toward the thousands of our gallant dead who lie uncoffined in the Southern swamps from the Mississippi to the Atlantic little realizing the condition of our poor fellows wounded and compelled to be jolted day after day in rough vehicles for hundreds of miles over corduroy roads. . . . Shermans army are with him to a man and his reputation is their reputation. his error if any has been of the head not of the heart. some of his memorandum of agreement with Johnson I dont approve of but the Papers have twisted and distorted them . . . but I have no patience to talk about it

Near Washington D. C. May 26 '65

I have not written home since arriving at the Capital from the fact of my not having the time to spare Our Corps reached Alexandria and went

³⁹ For the efforts of the Radicals, led by Stanton, to discredit Sherman's terms of peace, see Lewis, *Sherman* . . . , 544-72.

into Camp on the 20th 10 miles from Washington leaving us only 3 days to prepare for the grand review after coming off a campaign So you can imagine how much time we had for writing Clothing had to be drawn for the men blacking and brushes procured in fact everything to transform the rugged travel stained battallions [sic] into clean and respectable Sunday soldiers it rained too most of the time rendering the renovation more difficult. but despite the shortness of the time and unfavorableness of the weather the review was a splendid success the Army of the Potomac was reviewed on the 23rd and Sherman's on the 24th⁴⁰ both days were clear and pleasant. . . . long before daylight on the 24th the Reveille Bugles awakened the Army into activity and at day break the Column was rapidly crossing the Long Bridge into the City and massing in heavy columns east of the Capitol. at 9 O'clock precisely a signal Gun was fired and the head of the 15th Army Corps in the advance of the Army wheeled into Pennsylvania Avenue and began its grand march We were in close column and looking up the long Avenue for a mile you could see as it were a moving wall of bright blue tipped with glittering steell [sic] every man keeping step the whole looking like one connected living body.⁴¹ the side walks for 2 miles were crowded with a dense mass of humanity excited and exultant the applause of the crowd would occasionally find vent in cheers as some riddled and torn flag would be born[e] past them. the banner of the old 7th attracted considerable attention and "what Regt is that" was asked a hundred times during our march. then the waving of the hands of the fair ones was tantalizing for we could not turn our heads to look at them. Most of the Genl Officers had wreaths thrown over their horses Genls Sherman and Logan were literally covered with them. even your humble servant as [he] moved in the grand Ovation on his prancing steed recieved [sic] the affectionate regards of some damsel in the shape of a Bouquet which he tied to his Sabre. I only hope she was young and good looking having no means of judging from personal observation as it was received through the Medium of a "small boy" with "compliments" It is estimated that 200,000 people were present to see the review Many people from the west came in

⁴⁰ For a vivid description of the review, see *ibid.*, 572-7. See also Sherman, *Memoirs* . . . , 2:377.

⁴¹ Sherman wrote proudly of his army, ". . . the sight was simply magnificent. The column was compact, and the glittering muskets looked like a solid mass of steel, moving with the regularity of a pendulum." Sherman, *Memoirs* . . . , 2:377.

and wonderful to relate it [was] the general conviction that we eclipsed the Army of the Potomac even on the review . . . but the dicipline [sic] a long boasted quality of the Army of the P was better the marching better and the general appearance of the men better. physically our men looked larger tougher and sinewey [sic] the qualities that go to make a soldier then we marched with heads straight to the front. . . . We were there to be seen and not to see and every man felt it.⁴²

Hd Qtrs 7th Regt Iowa Infy, Louisville, June 22 '65

. . . it is getting to be awful dull here I am in Command of the Regt a few days in the temporary absence of Col Parrott which is some relief to the monotony. . . . We were paid off day before yesterday and I sent a Bond for 500\$ home by express yesterday they draw 7.3 percent interest payable semi annually and the Coupons are attached to the Bond. . . . I presume Steve will soon be home speaking of Steve puts me in mind to ask you about something. I want to gather up every cent I can scrape in order to start Steve in some kind of business when he leaves the Service. We can get enough together by practicing a close economy to make a very respectable start say 3000\$ and if the 7th Regt is mustered out to go in with him myself the only difficulty is to get a good location in this point I have thought a good deal but have come to no conclusion Ottumwa has got too far along I suppose to try an opening there although 5 years ago hardly a merchant in it had any more capital than the amount I have stated. I thought of some point in the South but know of no definite place. . . . A very liberal system of Furloughs is now being practiced in the Army here 50 men are allowed furloughs in the 7th Regt and several Officers I dont think however I will try to go home till Will and Steve get out of the service and are at home I want to have some talks with them the agent of Cornell College Mt Vernon Iowa for the education of disabled soldiers and the War Orphans left here this morning he collected 1630 dollars in the 7th Regt the same number of persons at home would hardly have done as well⁴³

⁴² The Army of the Potomac marched in review on May 23; Sherman's Army of the Tennessee on May 24. Grant wrote of these two reviews: "The [Army of the Potomac] had been operating where they received directly from the North full supplies of food and clothing regularly: the review of this army therefore was the review of a body of 65,000 well-drilled, well-disciplined and orderly soldiers inured to hardship and fit for any duty, but without the experience of gathering their own food and supplies in an enemy's country, and of being ever on the watch. Sherman's army was not so well-dressed as the Army of the Potomac, but their marching could not be

Hd Qtrs 7th Iowa Infy, Louisville Ky

July 4th 65

. . . tell Father I dont think it advisable to sell the farm at the price he mentioned. . . . I have been very hard at work for the last 4 days preparing for a prize drill of the Division which came off on the 3rd. there were 3 regiments drilled one from each Brigade which were selected by the Brigade commanders the regts had about 10 days in which to prepare Genl Rice was anxious to have his Brigade represented by his own old Regiment but was afraid to trust it to Col Parrott on the Drill ground so he selected another Regt but 3 days before the drill came off from causes that are not necessary to state the Regt he selected could not drill so the General got Col P Ordered to Iowa on some trifling business and then ordered me to prepare the 7th to go on the Drill I had to work day and night to get the men clothed and equipped and drilled hard six hours a day I did not hope

excelled; they had the appearance of men who had been thoroughly drilled to endure hardships, either by long and continuous marches or through exposure to any climate, without the ordinary shelter of a camp." Grant, *Memoirs* . . . , 2:534-5. But, according to Sherman, the men of the Army of the Potomac, on the previous day, had "turned their eyes around like country gawks to look at the big people on the stand," and he was determined that his men, ragged and barefoot though some of them were, would make a better showing. Therefore, he issued orders that the men should "keep their eyes fifteen feet to the front and march by in the old customary way." Loyal to their "Uncle Billy," Sherman's men obeyed orders, and when he saw them marching, "every man locked in steady formation — formal for perhaps the first and the last time in their lives," it was "the happiest and most satisfactory moment" of his life. One observer commented: "They march like the lords of the world," while the German ambassador observed, "An army like that could whip the devil." Lewis, *Sherman* . . . , 573-6. A soldier of the 39th Iowa wrote a letter to the Des Moines paper which expressed the feeling of Sherman's men for him: "There was not one who passed that stand on that day from the private in the ranks to Major General O. O. Howard, who did not ache to give expression of their love, respect and confidence in him by some act or expression of enthusiasm, but *his order* had forbidden all expressions of the kind by the command, and his presence reminded them of the order, and he was greeted only by the steady tread and lofty carriage of his proud soldiers; proud as I have heard hundreds express themselves since, to see the commanding form and noble face of Uncle Billy (as the soldiers call him amongst themselves) on the stand and himself overlooking them." *Des Moines Iowa State Weekly Register*, June 7, 1865.

⁴³ The trustees of Cornell College, in an effort to raise funds for the education of disabled soldiers and orphans of soldiers, had sent the college's president, William Fletcher King, to Savannah early in 1865, where he joined Sherman's army on its march northward. He told his project to some eighteen Iowa regiments, and when he returned home he had collected some \$14,000. The money was invested in government bonds, and the proceeds helped many boys and girls through college. See Marjorie Medary, "The History of Cornell College," *The Palimpsest*, 34:162 (April, 1953).

to get the prize of a handsome silk Banner on account of having so short a time to prepare still the Regt acquitted itself splendidly and was highly complimented. . . . I had rather a dry 4th our Division was under arms nearly all day waiting to receive Genl Sherman he came at last about 5 in the evening and we waited all the time buttoned up in dress uniforms and the weather oh so hot. . . . it was a little pleasanter however than our fourth a year ago when we were working for our lives near Kenesaw throwing up works under fire of the Rebel Batteries their shot and shell plowing the dirt all around us. . . . I well remember one shell crashing through our unfinished works knocking six men out of one company

July 7th We have recd orders to muster out the Regt and are now busy on the Muster out rolls it will probably be ten days or two weeks before the Regiment reaches Iowa

Davenport Iowa July 14th 1865

The Regt arrived here this morning from Louisville to be paid off and discharged. We left Louisville the evening of the 11th We got away several days sooner than we expected owing to our happening to have muster out rolls on hand of which there was a great scarcity in the Army and then we worked day and night to get them done and get away. We are now in McClellan Barrack awaiting payment which will probably be finished Monday or Tuesday and you may look for me home on Wednesday or Thursday a full citizen once more. if any of the Company (F) come to the House enquiring the whereabouts of the Regt tell them to come to Davenport the Company will not come to Ottumwa as a company as the men when paid off are free to go wherever they please and they will scatter in every direction

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

[The following letter was found in the Papers of Cyrus Clay Carpenter at the State Historical Society of Iowa. The writer of the letter, Henry Carse, was a friend and business associate of Carpenter's. One of his early ventures had been on the steamboat *Charles Rogers* (which is also spelled "Rodgers" in some sources). Before the days of railroads the businessmen of Fort Dodge were anxious to secure some type of transportation via the Des Moines River. Because of shoals, bends, and low water, steamboating on the Des Moines was always a hazard. However, in the spring of 1858 a group of men in Fort Dodge organized a stock company — The Fort Dodge Navigation Company — to raise funds for a boat to be built in Pittsburgh. Captain F. E. Beers, who, with Henry Carse, brought the boat back to Iowa waters from Pittsburgh, wrote an account of the early voyages which was published in Harry M. Pratt's two-volume *History of Fort Dodge and Webster County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1913), 1:225-9. The following letter, briefer than Captain Beers's account, agrees in the main with the Captain's story which was obviously written much later. The two accounts illustrate the difficulties both of navigation and finance for a new boat. The fact that Beers did not bring the boat directly to Fort Dodge from Pittsburgh was annoying to many members of the Fort Dodge Navigation Company, who were anxious to realize some tangible results from their investment. That their complaints were resented by the crew of the *Charles Rogers* is indicated in Carse's letter, which was written before the boat made its first voyage to Fort Dodge in the spring of 1859, arriving there on April 6. The original of this letter, which is undated, was attached to another letter written to Carpenter by Carse and dated December 23, 1858, in which he stated: "I have about concluded that we are frozen up in the Desmoines River for this winter for good and with that expectation I have taken a school to teach till the River opens in the spring, was at Ottumwa the 21st and got my certificate. Will commence Monday 27th Dec. Will be new business to me but anything rather then [sic] to be an expense It was some inducement to be near the boat which is about 5 miles from me. I am stopping about 3 Miles from Agency City which is my place of getting my mail." Captain Beers wrote: "We laid the boat up for the winter about eighteen

miles below Ottumwa on the north bank of the river. . . . On the 23d of February [1859] the ice went out of the river and we started the boat again. Mr. Carse took a school near where the boat was tied up and he did not come on the boat for a week or two after we started, as his school had not closed." Also, according to Beers, they were caught in the ice near Bentonsport "late in November," a fact which Carse also mentions, although without giving a specific time. Therefore, it is evident that Carse wrote the following letter sometime in December, 1858. — EDITOR.]

THE STEAMBOAT CHARLES ROGERS

Friend Carpenter

Allow me to say a few things in regard to our little Steam Boat. The dimensions I suppose you have already learned — however I will give it 75 ft long 15 ft beam 3 or 3½ hold and will carry 60 to 65 Tons. Cylinders 10½ in. 18 ft by 36 in. Boiler and about 12 inch draft light — and is 80 horse power full *throttle*. The Hull is a very handsome model and well built and Engines and Boiler No. 1 the decking &c not very good finish. It will run like a *scared dog*.

We left Ft Desmoines three hours ahead of the Clara Hine and we gained on her one hour and a half in running from the Fort to Keokuk. They did not wait to take on any freight on the way down and they hurried and crowded on all the Steam they could all the way down. There were several bets made on the Clara, that they would overtake us, but the friends of the Clara lost all their wagers. The Clara Hine is a good Boat and fast — has good power and draws about 2 ft 6 inches light and I presume they can out run us up Stream. I do not [know] however, we never tried it.

Perhaps some think we are loaded down with power to[o] much; in answer I would say that it is all needed to stem the Rapids and make the bends in the Desmoines River. It is a hard Stream to navigate on account of Snags rocks rapids and bends in the River and it [requires] good power to give the boat motion so as to mind the rudders, particularly going down stream. Rattlesnake is a very bad bend to make and most boats have to run against the shore and swing around Stern foremost — but all we have to do is crack on the Steam and go down without touching, and it requires just such a boat to run on the River from Desmoines to Ft. Dodge and we should have run up on 1st or 2d trip if we could have got 5 or six Tons of Freight, but we could not get 500 pounds. Now we have recd Several letters from

Ft. Dodge of rather an insulting cast for not running to Ft. Dodge last fall. Other letters have been received in which we were not blamed.

I presume you understood the circumstances under which I left Ft. Dodge to go to Pittsburgh — It was a shortness of Funds — having received only about \$400 exclusive of what Blacshere [Aaron F. Blackshere of Ft. Dodge] Beers & Myself paid in. I paid my stock \$500 and advance of \$200 more and I give my individual property to secure the payment of the balance \$1175 in four & six months also a note for \$193 which Mr. Rogers loaned us to fit out with after the boat was finished. The latter we have about paid up. The name of the Boat, some of our correspondents seem to have serious objections to — they ask us why did we not call it The George H. Rogers as it would have sounded something like Ft. Dodge or Webster Co. Well all I have to say is that the name "Charles Rogers" is not a favorite name of mine, neither is it particularly objectionable not so much so as circumstances under which it received that name — but policy guides the operations of financiers as well as political men and many others; and thus it was in our case. Mr. Chas. Rogers was the man who built the boat and had it not been for the liberality of that gentleman the boat might have been in Pittsburgh or some place else for aught I know for we had but Thirteen dollars (\$13) left after paying Rogers what Beers agreed to pay him on delivery of the Boat to buy our outfit & pay our expenses to Keokuk &c.

Mr. Rogers bought our outfit or rather loaned us the money — we still had our \$13 to bring us around and part of that was uncurrent — knowing it was no use to write to Ft. Dodge for help for I had done my best before I left, so we held a consultation and decided to run the boat around to Keokuk on Muscle & Brass. So we hired a pilot to run the Boat to Cincinnati for \$40 an Engineer at \$40 per month and other hands from \$18 to 25 per month — not having sufficient reliance on Muscle & Brass — did not know but that we would be tied up at Cincinnati for debt — that is for hands wages but however Providence smiled upon us and we got passengers & freight — so that we were able to pay our pilot and get some provisions to continue our journey. But out of money again — and steam up ready to start not knowing where to get money to buy the next bushel of coal or cord of wood. It was then evening, and something had to be done — so observed three young chaps passing down the Levee towards another [boat] by ours with satchels so I out and hailed them and asked where they

were bound for. They said for Cairo so of course I made them believe ours was the fastest boat and would be sure to go through &c and they came aboard paid their fair [sic] which was \$20. So we made a raise again, blew our whistle and on we went to Cairo.

By the way we took on some frt at Cincinnati to amount to \$57, but could not of course realize any thing from it till we delivered it at Hannibal Mo. On our way to Cairo we received but little from passengers or frt and when we arrived there, had but \$6 [left] after laying in but a small stock of provisions and not more [than] 5 or 6 bushels coal & no wood and we saw very plainly that it was not going to help our case any by stoping there any length of time. So we shoved out about 11 oclock at night (it was after dark when [we] got in there) and shaped our course up the big Mississippi and tied up 5 miles above Cairo till morning and chopped wood and carried aboard till 12 oclock next day. Had but one ax & one Hand-saw to work with. Cut and carried aboard Two & half cords and we kept doing so till we got to St. Louis and we had about 15\$ ahead once more, and there we had to settle with the Pilot from Cincinnati to St. Louis which was \$35. Knowing that we had but \$15 to pay \$35, Beers & I resolved to carry him ashore in the skiff rather than give him an opportunity to tie us up — but he compromised by taking 10\$ down and the balance was to be sent to him from Hannibal when we collected our frt Bill.

So we shoved out from St. Louis to navigate a River entirely unknown to all of us without a pilot and but 5\$ a distance of about 500 miles. Fortunately we arrived safe at Keokuk without accident or hinderance of any kind whatever and without getting aground once which I thot was doing well for us, especially when we were passing other Steam Boats hard aground. We lay at Keokuk about Twenty four hours took about half a load. Shippers being disposed to patronize the Clara Hine and other boats that had been in the trade and they did not know what about shipping with us strangers. But we made a quick trip and made a little money — second trip we had a full load and made good time and cleared enough to pay off our hands and had enough to pay off our first note due for outfit which was about \$200 payable at Pittsburgh and this our last trip would have been the best had we not froze up; as it is we will not make any thing, our expenses will equal the receipts.

Now had we run up to Ft. Dodge the first trip we would have lost our second trip entirely; consequently would have been in debt to the hands

for their wages, and nothing paid on our debts. We done as we thought was best for the company and ourselves — had the stockholders paid up their stock we should not have had so mutch trouble and vexation and could have run up to Ft. Dodge and not have been cramped as we are for money. Yet we have not complained because they have not paid up. We know money was scarce and hard to get — yet we do not like to have persons find so mutch fault with us and our course [or] write so insulting a letter as was received from Thos. Sargent. We took the best course we new of and any sensible man would have taken the same course as we did, but I doubt whether Thos. Sargent would as he is rather an unreasonable man.

Others find fault because we did not write often. One reason why I did not write often was because I did not know what to write for the reason I did not know one day what we were going to do the next — and if we had written as often as we concluded to do any particular thing people would have thought we were crazy. When we left one Port we knew not whether we could leave the next and when we got to running the boat on the Des Moines River we had not time to think or write.

Yours Truly

HENRY CARSE

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The State Historical Society of Iowa

The biennial business meeting of the Society was held on June 29 in Schaeffer Hall at Iowa City. Superintendent William J. Petersen reported on the progress of the Society, and the following curators were elected: Carroll Coleman of Iowa City, A. C. Gingerich of Wellman, William R. Hart of Iowa City, L. H. Kornder of Davenport, Carl H. Mather of Tipton, S. T. Morrison of Iowa City, W. Howard Smith of Cedar Rapids, O. D. Collis of Clinton, and James E. Stronks of Iowa City. Mr. Collis and Mr. Stronks replace Raymond J. Hekel of Mount Pleasant and R. O. Burrows of Belle Plaine, both of whom have resigned from the Board of Curators after valuable service to the Society.

The Society's microfilm library has recently been enriched by the addition of a film of the LeGrand Byington Papers. The eighty-one pieces of Civil War and postwar correspondence, petitions, and public letters include letters from George Wallace Jones, J. Sterling Morton, General U. S. Grant, Thomas A. Hendricks, and Horatio Seymour. In addition to political affairs, the letters touch on railroad building in Iowa, land sales, and war tax problems. They were made available to the Society by Dr. LeGrand Byington, grandson of the nineteenth century Iowan. The Society is indebted to Dr. Byington for making this microfilm project possible. The preservation of the papers of Iowans is one of the foremost obligations of the Society, but that obligation can only be fulfilled through the cooperation of our members and friends who recognize the necessity for preserving historical materials.

The Society's annual Mississippi River steamboat cruises were held on July 4, 5, 11, 12, 18, and 19 aboard O. D. Collis' *Rob Roy III*. Each day's cruise left Clinton at 9 a. m. and returned about 5 p. m. Some 700 members and their guests took part in this annual event.

Members of the Society's staff who attended the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Lexington, Kentucky, on May

7-9, 1953, were Superintendent William J. Petersen, Associate Editor Mildred Throne, and Research Associate Robert Rutland. Dr. Rutland read a paper, "Civil Liberties in the New Republic," at a session on civil rights in early America.

Robert Rutland, research associate of the Society, has received the Ph. D. degree from Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

- April 2 Addressed joint meeting, Cedar Rapids and Iowa City stamp clubs at Iowa City.
- May 14 Commencement address at Stanwood
- May 20 Commencement address at Wilton Junction.
- May 21 Commencement address at Keystone.

The following members were elected to membership in the State Historical Society during the months of March, April, May, and June, 1953:

Albia

Mrs. Maxine Gray

Albion

F. W. Hickman

Amana

Adolph Heinemann

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Schoenfelder

Anamosa

Mrs. C. H. Ireland

Aplington

Mrs. Glenn K. Stockdale

Arnolds Park

C. J. Kennedy

Baldwin

Charles F. Hinchliffe

Bancroft

Mrs. C. C. Inman

Belle Plaine

Mrs. Gretchen Strandberg

Bode

Mrs. Flora Stroud

Burlington

Mrs. Fred D. Dutton

Dean Lowe Marshall

Camanche

Roy E. Tallman

Carson

Jim O. Henry

Cedar Falls

Dr. Joseph H. Gamet

Cedar Rapids

L. P. Atwood

J. A. Beuster

Mrs. Ralph W. Connor

Keith W. Dunn

Bruce Fishwild

John F. Gaston

M. G. Hardesty

Norman Hatton

F. E. Kinney

Victor J. Olson

David R. Pugh

Harold D. Showers

Stevan B. Smith

Earl W. Stansby

Paul W. Stansby

Miss Jean Strong

Mrs. S. W. Wilder

Centerville

Mrs. Earl Parker

Charles City

Martin E. Sar

Maurice J. Schrup

Mrs. Maurice J. Schrup

Clarinda

Mrs. R. F. Gantt

Clarksville

Mrs. Edith A. Chester

Clayton

Mrs. John Bock

Duluth L. Pieper

Clear Lake

Roy Austin

Clinton

Lester H. Mangold

Ellis W. Roe

Conrad

Raymond E. Daggett

Council Bluffs

Mrs. Anita Baum

Miss Inga Johnson

Heber M. Smith

Crawfordsville

J. W. Evans

Dallas Center

Conway Morris

Davenport

Philip D. Adler

E. B. Fassel

Thomas Fulrath

Miss Ruth I. Howard

A. W. Lucht

Mrs. Leon R. Lyle

Henry R. Schaefer

Jack Schroeder

Miss Margaret Stevenson

Des Moines

Mrs. E. H. Borg

Miss Mary Caron

Mrs. Nellie F. Churchman

Mrs. Roena G. Clement

Miss Ethel M. Conn

Miss Elsie L. Dachroth

Miss Wanita E. Dey

Miss Frances Farrell

Mrs. Zella Gedge

Dr. Chas. H. Henshaw

E. Howard Hill

Miss Connie Horton

Hiram S. Hunn

Mrs. John W. Hunt

Mrs. Dorothy I. Lynch

Mrs. L. E. McFarland

Mrs. Jack W. Musgrove

Miss Eugenia E. Newton

Barry Oakes

Miss Maud Oliney

Mrs. Robert C. Phillips

Miss Evelyn Rees

Mrs. Helen M. Rudkin

Earl R. Shostrom

Miss Beryl K. Stratton

Mrs. Beverly Wagner

Glen G. Wallace

Howard G. Whitmore

O. E. Zeller

Dickens

Eugene Beving

Dubuque

Fred H. Kretschmer

Dunlap

Frank A. Hagen

Emerson

LeRoy Johnson

Charles R. Warren

Essex

Wallace A. Lindburg

Fairfax

Emil Novak

Fort Dodge

Miss Marie Geiger

Nick J. Miletich

John M. Peters

Fort Madison

Mrs. M. I. Godbey

Fremont

George W. Fellers

Fruitland

Mrs. Jessie E. Corwin

Garwin

Mrs. Hazel Bwol

Gladbrook

Harold Beichley

Mrs. Kenneth Bruene

Mrs. Richard Bruene

Mrs. Lester Engel

Mrs. H. D. Kehoe

Mrs. Vic Miller

Mrs. Don Rehder

Mrs. Dick Rugg

Mrs. Neil Stauffer

Mrs. L. H. Thomsen

Greenfield

Fay L. Harris

Grinnell

Mrs. F. F. Almy

Rev. John Nolin

Hartwick

Mrs. Dolph E. Vermace

Hawarden

Henry Visser

Hillsboro

William B. Askew

Humboldt

Franklin Jaqua

Independence

Mrs. Emily B. Henderson

J. F. Jensen

Indianola

Arthur J. Kindred

Iowa City

Mrs. Florence Altmaier

Allan G. Bogue

Ross E. Clem

David E. Gause

M. L. Huit

Mrs. E. Huntsberry

Mrs. Albert Husa

Mrs. Roger I. Lienke

Mrs. Alice Jane McMahill

Ivan Miller

Mrs. E. A. Putnam

Jewell

Richard Anderson

Kamrar

Mrs. Nels Tolstrup

LeMars

Norman Lee Pavlik

Leon

R. B. Hawkins

Logan

Miss Carmelita Tate

Mrs. B. J. Wood

Lucas

Raymond Pim

Madrid

J. G. Lucas

Maquoketa

Carlyle C. Bowman

Manchester

Mrs. May Ryan

Mrs. E. W. Williams

Marble Rock

Arnold P. Staudt

Marengo

Arnold D. Maas

Marion

James L. Coombes

Milton

Mrs. E. J. Andrews

Montezuma

Mrs. Garnette S. Wheeler

Mount Pleasant

Mrs. Emily B. Anderson

Mrs. Glover B. Ferrell

Mrs. Henry A. Hartrick

Karl H. Keefer

Mount Vernon

Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar

Muscatine

Arthur R. Howe

Nashua

Amos C. Peterson

New Providence

Melvin L. Powers

Newton

Miss Beverly Joann Capesius

Mrs. Leland J. Carter

LaVerne A. Collister

Miss Nellie B. Kennedy

Miss Maxine Loupee

Rev. Thomas J. McCann

Miss Alberta J. Sullivan

Roger L. Wheeland

Norway

Mrs. George A. Newton

Oelwein

Dr. W. B. Henderson

Onawa

E. C. Myrland

Osage

Charles R. Burtch

Otho

Mrs. Lucille Schnurr

Ottumwa

Miss Agnes Arganbright

Otto Armstrong

Miss Mary E. Baker

Mrs. Charles W. Gray

Miss Maisy Johnston

Mrs. Ralph J. Selman

Miss Edna C. Tait

Mrs. Elma Vail

Miss Bess Walker

Packwood

Mrs. Harold Dickey

Pella

Elmer H. Vermeer

Pleasant Valley

Mrs. Wm. B. Greenwood

Blair A. Phillips

Red Oak

Elmer A. Bass
Miss Mary Benware

Rockwell

Mrs. M. H. Wolcott

Rockwell City

Henry E. Heideman
Melvin Wilson

Saint Anthony

Mrs. Irene W. Fosness

Salem

Donald E. Young

Sheldahl

Claude Niemier

Shenandoah

Verlin L. Sweeley

Sioux City

Edward A. Wendel

Solon

Mrs. Rose Yeggy

Somers

Eli D. Potts

South Amana

Walter Leichsenring

Spencer

Mrs. Viola Phillips

Thompson

M. A. Houg
Theo Klemesrud

Toledo

Howard L. Petersen

Traer

J. W. Provan

Ware

Ware Consolidated School

Washington

M. C. DeLashmut
Miss Helen J. Fulton
Louis J. Kehoe
Bruce Milne

Waterloo

Mrs. Don T. Dentel
Mrs. Charles H. Storm

Watkins

Miss Inez Mills

Waverly

Jack Miller

Webster City

Mrs. Alexander Groves
John A. Hanna
J. H. McBurney
William H. Yungclas

Arizona

Raymond A. Leydig, Winslow

California

Mrs. Jessie V. Bicknell,
Long Beach
Fresno State College Library,
Fresno
Mrs. Herbert H. Houghton,
Los Angeles
Mrs. Ruth P. Patterson,
San Francisco
Mrs. John M. Taylor, Sacramento

Colorado

J. J. Mallon, Colorado Springs

Illinois

J. Bruce Broolsma, Chicago
Mrs. Erma K. Campbell, Chicago
Homer H. Hankins, Ottawa
M. B. Hites, Northbrook

Michigan

James K. Traer, Kalamazoo

Missouri

Earle K. Behrend, Kansas City

O. A. Kitterman, Kansas City

J. E. Lynn, Kansas City

New York

Mrs. Fairy A. Plane, Long Island

R. J. Richter, Brooklyn

Mrs. Edward B. Wilson, Troy

Ohio

Miss Mildred Stewart, Cleveland

The following persons were elected as life members:

Atlantic

Mrs. Catharine B. Farquhar

Boone

Clinton Kastner

Miss Lenore Wycoff

Burlington

Carl C. Riepe

Cedar Rapids

Paul R. Strain

Corning

Daniel W. Turner

Davenport

W. S. Binford

James M. Chamberlin

Boy Hansen

Cable Von Maur

Des Moines

P. H. Cless

W. D. Houlette

William F. Koch

Havelock

Miss Anne Goodchild

Iowa City

Earl W. Kurtz

Lake Mills

Wayne Marthinson

Lamont

Donald L. Hoth

Mason City

Dr. Carroll O. Adams

Mrs. Ida L. Kinney

Monona

Dr. W. F. Humphrey

Monticello

Wilbur K. Doxsee

Ottumwa

William C. Brunk

Pella

H. O. Wormhoudt

Sheldon

Paul C. Woods

Spirit Lake

B. W. Allen

Tabor

Miss Fern Williams

Waukon

Mrs. Leslie K. Hull

Waverly

Dr. O. C. Hardwig

Iowa Historical Activities

The thirty-first annual History Conference at the State University of Iowa was held on May 1, 1953. David M. Potter of Yale University spoke

on "Changing Concepts of National Character"; Frank Freidel of the University of Illinois on "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Rebuilding of the Democratic Party in the 1920's"; and David Thomson of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, England, on "The French Political Scene."

The centennial of Lamont, in Buchanan County, was celebrated June 21-23, 1953. Governor William S. Beardsley opened the three-day observance. Glenwood Stanley was general chairman. The *Lamont Leader* ran a series of historical sketches of the town, which may be republished in book form if there is enough of a demand.

Other centennials in Iowa were: Cornell College, June 5-6, 1953; Bedford, July 2-4; Waukon, July 3-5; Audubon, week of August 16; Worth County, July 12-15; Leon, June 25-27; Hopkinton, six weeks, climaxing on August 15.

Osage, which will not be 100 years old until 1955, is already making plans for that birthday. Joseph Casey has been named chairman of the committee to draw up plans.

Waterloo has designated the week of June 24, 1954, for its centennial celebration. Walcott, in Scott County, also will celebrate its centennial in 1954. Dr. D. C. Camblin has been elected head of the committee for the celebration, with Herman Brandt as vice-chairman, Harry Banze as secretary, and Horace Paustian as treasurer. The centennial will take place June 25-27, 1954.

Plans for the Wright County centennial, to be held in either 1954 or 1955, are being made by members of the Wright County Historical Society.

In 1913 citizens of Dubuque formed the Allison-Henderson Memorial Association and collected a fund of \$10,000 for a memorial to two of Dubuque's most famous men — Senator William B. Allison and Congressman David B. Henderson. The Allison-Henderson Park and Playground, presented to the city in 1951, is the result of the work of this Association. On May 14, 1953, members of the Dubuque County Historical Society dedicated enlarged photographs of the two men. These pictures will be hung in the assembly room of the park shelter.

At the annual meeting of the Mahaska County Historical Society, May 13, 1953, M. H. Pothoven was re-elected president. Other officers elected

were J. C. Mattix, vice-president; E. L. Butler, treasurer; Zola Kramme, secretary. An open house at the Society's historical museum was held in the old G. A. R. rooms at the courthouse on May 21-22.

Mrs. W. G. MacMartin, president of the Tama County Historical Society since its founding in 1942, has resigned because of ill health. Roy L. Shaffer of Tama was elected the new president at the annual meeting of the Society, April 25, 1953. Harold W. Hufford of Toledo was elected vice-president, and E. A. Benson of Toledo, secretary-treasurer. Members of the board of directors are Mrs. J. G. Ennis, Mrs. H. P. Giger, and Wm. H. Malin.

Officers of the McGregor Historical Society are Mrs. W. A. Myers, president; W. D. Logan, vice-president; and Miss Dorothy Huebsch, secretary-treasurer.

Mrs. Walter Meads of Ames, Iowa, is preparing a history of Ames. She has been assembling material for her history for five years, consulting old records and papers, and gathering reminiscences from old-timers.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

Broadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1860. By Francis Paul Prucha. (Madison, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1953. \$4.00.) This book should prove a valuable addition to the Middle Western frontier history. It deals with the non-military — the civilizing — effect of the army units which stood between the Indian and the advancing pioneers in the pre-Civil War era. Many early Iowa forts played a part in this movement — Fort Des Moines, Fort Dodge, Fort Atkinson, and others. The study is based on wide research in manuscript collections at Washington and in the various historical societies of the Midwest, in addition to study of published sources of many kinds.

America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941. By Wayne S. Cole. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1953. \$3.50.) This is an objective study of the controversial America First Committee, which flourished during the pre-World War II debate on foreign policy. Dr. Cole has had access to the records of the Committee, now in the Hoover Library in California, and he has presented the story of the inception and growth of the movement in great detail. His conclusion is that, although the Committee "was not even able to defeat any major Administration 'short-of-war' proposal actually put to the test in Congress," yet its activities "definitely affected the strategy of President Franklin D. Roosevelt."

Wagon Roads West, A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846-1869. By W. Turrentine Jackson. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952. \$5.00.) The role of the government surveyor in locating and building "wagon roads west" has long been neglected for the more colorful accounts of the pioneers who used those roads. This work, based on voluminous research, will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to a neglected phase of Western history. Readers of the JOURNAL will remember Dr. Jackson's article in "The Army Engineers as Road Builders in Territorial Iowa," in the January, 1949, issue.

Old Orchard Farm, The Story of an Iowa Boyhood. By Hugh Orchard. (Ames, Iowa State College Press, 1952. \$2.50.) The author, a minister and Chautauqua lecturer, has here set down the memories of his boyhood on a Des Moines County farm in the 1880's. The result is a charming book, with unforgettable pen-portraits of "Mother," "Pap," and their neighbors. In contrast to the traditional picture of the wearing hardships of pioneer living, the story here is a happy one, spiced with delightful touches of humor, so that the book can be read not only for its information on a way of life, but for pleasure in the writing itself.

Narrative Journal of Travels Through the Northwestern Regions of the United States . . . to the Sources of the Mississippi River in the Year 1820. By Henry R. Schoolcraft. Edited by Mentor L. Williams. (East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1953. \$7.50.) This is a reprint of one of the most famous books on early American travel, originally published in 1821. The editor has supplemented Schoolcraft's footnotes, where necessary, and has added an introduction, giving the background of the 1820 journey. In addition, there are eight appendices containing supplemental material of value. Thus, a rare volume has been made available to scholars.

The Great Railroad Conspiracy: The Social History of a Railroad War. By Charles Hirschfeld. (East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1953. \$2.50.) This account of a pre-Grange farmer-railroad controversy in Michigan first appeared in *Michigan History* for June, 1952. As early as the mid-forties, farmer movements against the railroads were instigated by the killing of their cattle by the locomotives and the refusal of the railroad officials to pay damages. This feeling mounted to a concerted movement which brought about a general railroad law in 1854 — the forerunner of railroad regulation which came throughout the Midwest in the 1870's. The fact that the book is not indexed, nor divided into titled chapters, impairs the usefulness of the volume.

Articles

The Winter, 1953, *American Heritage* deals largely with "The Coastal South," with articles on the varying life and history of that region. In addition, Kenneth P. Bochat contributes an article on "The Pine Tree Shilling"; Arthur M. Schlesinger writes on "Lincoln and Lee"; H. G. Nicholas discusses "Uncle Tom's Cabin, 1852-1952"; and Marshall B.

Davidson and Nina Fletcher Little write on "American Decorative Wall Painting, 1700-1850."

The presidential address of James G. Randall, read at the 1952 annual meeting of the American Historical Association, is entitled "Historianship" and is published in the January, 1953, issue of the *American Historical Review*.

The Winter, 1952, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is devoted to Illinois's great poet, Carl Sandburg, and contains articles in tribute by Harry E. Pratt, Adlai E. Stevenson, Quincy Wright, Harry Hansen, Robert E. Sherwood, J. G. Randall, Allan Nevins, Benjamin F. Thomas, and a host of other friends and admirers.

A reminiscent article by Charles A Zimmerman in the Winter, 1952, issue of *Minnesota History* is "Hunters' Paradise, The Kandiyohi Country in the 1870's." An article of interest to those making a study of political and agrarian protest is "The Origin of Minnesota's Nonpartisan Legislature," by Charles R. Adrian, which appears in the same issue. "Playhouse for Pioneers, The Story of the Pence Opera House," by Donald Z. Woods, is a contribution to frontier cultural history.

Articles in the Autumn, 1952, *Wisconsin Magazine of History* include: "The Wisconsin Supreme Court," by the Hon. Timothy Brown; "Wisconsin Votes for President," by Perry C. Hill, a summary of Wisconsin's presidential votes from 1860 to 1948; "A Reappraisal of the Lumber Barons," by D. C. Everest; "Local History," by Granville Hicks; "Wisconsin's Canning Industry, Past and Present," by Fred Stare; and "Daniel W. Hoan and the Milwaukee Socialist Party During the First World War," by Robert C. Reinders. The Winter, 1952-53, issue of the *Magazine* contains the following articles: "The Wisconsin Legislature," by Earl Sachse; "Lincoln Scolds a General [Carl Schurz]," by Harlan Hoyt Horner; "Pioneer Buttes, Town Milwaukee Diarist," by Lillian Krueger, an article based on the voluminous diaries of Anson Waters Buttes; "Nineteenth Century Land Colonization in Northern Wisconsin," by Arlan Helgeson; "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Southwestern Wisconsin," by Beulah Folkedahl; and "Weavers of Grasses: Indian Women of the Woodlands," by Phebe Jewell Nichols.

An article of interest to Iowans in the October, 1952, *Agricultural History* is "Henry A. Wallace's Editorials on Agricultural Discontent, 1921-1928," by Malcolm O. Sillars.

Articles on American history in the April, 1953, *American Historical Review* include "Patent-Office Models of the Good Society: Some Relationships Between Social Reform and Westward Expansion," by Arthur E. Bestor, Jr.; and "The Granger Cases: 1877 or 1876?" by Elwin W. Sigmund.

Daniel Boone is well recognized as the symbol of American frontiersmen. How he came to this position is discussed by Marshall W. Fishwick in "Daniel Boone and the Pattern of the Western Hero," in the April, 1953, *Filson Club History Quarterly*.

The Spring, 1953, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains the following articles: "Lincoln's Home in 1860," by Kenneth Scott; "The Happy Soldier: The Mexican War Letters of John Nevin King," edited by Walter B. Hendrickson; "James Robert Mann: Legislator Extraordinary," by L. Ethan Ellis; "The Pioneers of Monmouth College," by F. Garvin Davenport; and "The Post Office in Illinois Politics of the 1850's," by Don E. Fehrenbacher.

Articles in the June, 1953, *Indiana Magazine of History* are: "Indiana in Political Transition, 1851-1853," by Roger H. Van Bolt, and "Settlers on Corn Belt Soil," by Richard Lyle Power.

Articles in the March, 1953, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* are: "Mercantile Education in the Ante-Bellum South," by Lewis E. Atherton; "The Opposition of American Businessmen to Social Control During the 'Gilded Age,'" by Chester McA. Destler; "Frederic L. Paxson and His Approach to History," by Earl Pomeroy. The June, 1953, issue contains: "Before We Were Members — The MVHA," the presidential address of James L. Sellers; "The Building of the Sault Canal: 1852-1855," by Irene D. Neu; "The Garner Fugitive Slave Case," by Julius Yanuck; "How Stimson Meant to 'Maneuver' the Japanese," by Richard N. Current; "Pontiac's Rebellion and the British Troop Moves of 1763," by Charles S. Grant; and "Abraham Lincoln: Principle and Pragmatism in Politics," by T. Harry Williams.

"The New York Custom House: Seat of Spoils Politics," by William Hartman, appears in the April, 1953, *New York History*. Also included in that issue are "Regent [George William] Curtis and His Crusade for the Ideals of Democracy," by Charles C. Chadbourn, Jr.; and "Abandoned Farms and the 'New Agriculture' in New York State at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," by A. William Hoglund.

Two articles of general interest in the April, 1953, *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* are "The Middle West and the Coming of World War I," by Arthur S. Link, and "The Middle West and the Coming of World War II," by Jeannette P. Nichols.

C. Vann Woodward's presidential address to the Southern Historical Association — "The Irony of Southern History" — was published in the February, 1953, *Journal of Southern History*. The work of Lyman Draper, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society from 1854 to 1886, is discussed by William B. Hesseltine in "Lyman Draper and the South."

The struggle for the million-acre land grant given to Wisconsin in 1856, for the building of a railroad, is the subject of "Politics, Brown Bread, and Bologna," by Kenneth W. Duckett in the Spring, 1953, *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. A contribution to medical history of the latter decades of the nineteenth century is "Notes on the Medical Practice of Dr. David Franklin Powell," by Mary Hardgrove Hebbard, which appears in the same issue.

Iowa

Of particular value for the study of Iowa's political history is an article by Leland L. Sage of Iowa State Teachers College, "Weaver in Allison's Way," in the January, 1953, *Annals of Iowa*. The article deals with Senator William B. Allison's part in the election of Samuel J. Kirkwood as governor in 1875 and senator in 1876, a campaign in which James B. Weaver played a large part. Other articles in this issue of the *Annals* are "Securing the Blessings of Liberty," by Ora Williams, an account of Iowa's progress to statehood, and "First Assembly at Des Moines," by A. S. Bailey, a reminiscent manuscript deposited with the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines in 1917, which deals with the 1858 General Assembly, the first to meet in Des Moines. The April, 1953, *Annals* contains the following articles: "Thomas Mitchell, A Sturdy Pioneer of Central

Iowa," by Lois Craig; "Keosauqua's Famous Men," by A. M. Piper; "Pioneer Animal Lore," by N. Tjernagel; and an article on the early days of baseball by Dr. Roger H. Van Bolt, "'Cap' Anson's First Contract."

A history of Templeton, in Carrol County, and its Sacred Heart Parish from 1878 to 1952 has been published in booklet form under the title "Through the Years."

The Boone *News-Republican* is carrying a series of articles on the history of Ogden. The first of this series appeared in the March 16, 1953, issue. Ogden was founded by the North Western Railroad promoters and was named for William B. Ogden, mayor of Chicago and a leading railroad capitalist.

Miss Grace S. Harsh began a series of articles on the history of Creston in the March 2, 1953, *Creston News-Advertiser*. Another town history, that of Klemme in Hancock County, is appearing in the *Klemme Times*.

In western Iowa, Kanesville was founded by the Mormons in 1846. Seven years later the name was changed to Council Bluffs. The *Nonpareil* of that city is observing the centennial of existence under the present name by a series of historical articles illustrated by sketches by George Simons.

Members of the Four-County Historical Society have been making a study of the early religious organizations of their district. The results of their researches were published in the February 18 and March 18, 1953, *Belle Plaine Union*.

The Dubuque County Historical Society has sponsored the preparation and publication of a 20-page booklet entitled "Dubuque: It's History and Background." The work was done by a committee headed by Miss Elsie Datisman, who had the assistance of Joseph Flynn and the Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. M. Hoffman.

Helen Johnson of Odebolt, regional historian, has contributed an article on Iowa's first school — that of Berryman Jennings in Lee County near present-day Keokuk — to the March 22, 1953, issue of the *Sioux City Journal*.

The June 1, 1953, *Mason City Globe-Gazette* — the "Centennial Edition" — might well serve as an example for all other newspaper centennial

editions. A tremendous amount of research has gone into the production of this issue of the paper. There are articles on each year of Mason City's history from 1853 to 1953; there are large sections devoted to the churches and schools; and there is a supplement: "The Mason City Story," which completes the history of the city's first 100 years, with articles on industry, schools, politics, the railroads, wars, and all the many phases of the life of a community.

In 1892 Onawa dedicated a new courthouse. Part of the ceremonies included a paper read by the town's first druggist, a Dr. Steppens, recounting the history of Onawa's first courthouse, built in 1858. The paper, written with all the ornate flourishes of late nineteenth century style, is published in the June 4, 1953, *Onawa Democrat*, and is well worth reading, not only for the snatches of history it contains, but as a typical example of old-time oratory.

Guthrie County was featured in the March 15, 1953, issue of the *New York Times Magazine*. The author, C. D. Palmer, chose this Iowa county for an article which sought to "see how Iowa farmers feel about things in general." The *Times* article was reprinted in the April 9, 1953, issue of the *Guthrie Center Times*.

The Episcopal Diocese of Iowa celebrated its 100th anniversary in Davenport, May 12-13, 1953. A brief history of the Episcopal churches of Iowa appeared in the May 11, 1953, *Davenport Times*.

A very full history of Central College at Pella appeared in the April 30, 1953, issue of the *Pella Chronicle*. The history was written by Mrs. Marvin Thostenson.

Several Iowa newspapers are contributing to local centennials by publishing series of stories about the early days of their towns. A series on Clarinda appeared in the April and May issues of the *Clarinda Herald-Journal*; Bruce Fishwild contributed a series on Cedar Rapids to the April issues of the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*; and Miss Grace S. Harsh wrote of Creston in the May issues of the *Creston News-Advertiser*. The June issues of the *Nevada Journal* have some excellent stories on Story County history.

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IOWA

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COVER

A view of the Capitol in Washington, as it appeared in 1858, after the addition of the House and Senate wings to the original structure. From *Harper's Weekly*, February 8, 1858.

IOWANS AND THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

By Robert Rutland

One hundred and sixty-five years after its ratification, the Constitution of the United States appears to be a symbol of stability among political instruments. Throughout those 165 years the ideas of the Founding Fathers have indeed weathered well. It is a tribute to their insight and wisdom to note the relatively few attempts made to alter the basic document. Since the Bill of Rights became law in 1791, only twelve other amendments have been ratified. Two of these were approved by 1804. Sixty-one years elapsed before the next three were ratified as a part of the Reconstruction policy of Congress between 1865 and 1870. These — the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments — were designed to elevate the Negro from slavery to full citizenship. When the "reconstruction statesmen began rapidly to pass away early in the seventies as if burnt out by the very intensity of their zeal," the amending process lay dormant.¹ Not until 1913 was the Constitution again amended. But the three Reconstruction amendments had left their mark, and even though Hermann von Holst, in his constitutional history, may have overemphasized the role of the Negro, the passing of time has seen prodigious efforts to raise the Negro's status through constitutional devices.

The Supreme Court of the United States is expected to make a significant decision on the educational status of the American Negro within the next six months. Although several barriers to complete freedom of education have been lowered for the Negro, the use of "separate schools" in many states has now been challenged. Advocates for the abandonment of segregation contend that despite the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, Negro citizens are discriminated against in violation of the "equal protection of the laws" clause. The issue has long been building to a climax. It appears that the Supreme Court must finally face the problem squarely and decide whether or not the concept of a dual school system deprives one class of Americans of their constitutional rights.

When the Fourteenth Amendment was proposed in Congress early in

¹ A. M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922), 120.

1866, it was generally presumed to be a measure designed to give federal protection to the private and civil rights of Negroes. These rights "were presumably those enumerated in more detail in the Civil Rights Act," which Congress had passed over President Johnson's veto on April 9, 1866.² But did the Iowan of 1866 so regard the proposed constitutional amendment? How did the Iowa newspaper editors and politicians, the two best sources of contemporary opinion, view the proposed amendment?

An analysis of contemporary opinion in Iowa regarding the need for the Fourteenth Amendment, and what that amendment would encompass, requires a divorcement of all modern implications from those which confronted the Iowan in 1866-1868. In those postwar years the Negro population of the state was slowly increasing; at the end of the decade 5,762 Negroes were reported in the federal census. Thus, during the period under consideration, the personal contacts of Iowans with Negroes were slight except along the banks of the two great rivers which form the eastern and western boundaries of the state. Along the rivers the Negro population of Iowa found employment at the waterfronts, frequently as barbers, tailors, and handymen. By far the largest concentration of Negroes in Iowa was in Lee County, where 1,479 resided in 1869.³ The greatest population element centered in southeastern Iowa. Farther north and west, few Negroes were encountered, and many counties left blank the space reserved for "Colored Population" on their census rolls.

With a relatively small Negro population in their midst, Iowans were not seriously disturbed by the transition from slavery to freedom. Had the question of freedom for the Negro remained aloof from political discussion, the attention paid to the Negro in Iowa during the 1860's might have been slight indeed. From the achievement of statehood until 1858, Iowa had been lenient toward the Negro while still offering restraints to his complete freedom. Negro children were excluded from the public schools, but the property of colored persons was exempted from school taxes. Following adoption of a new constitution in 1857, the General Assembly provided for the education of Negro children in separate schools unless white parents in the district gave unanimous consent to holding classes for both white and Negro pupils in the same school. Although this act was declared unconsti-

² Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution* (New York, 1948), 461.

³ *Census of Iowa . . . 1869* (Des Moines, 1869), 72.

tutional, evidence indicates that the ban on mixed classes was not universally observed. Subsequent legislative acts in 1860, 1862, and 1866 called for the instruction of all children without regard to race or color.⁴

Unfortunately for the status of the Negro, the race question had become an issue in Iowa party politics long before the outbreak of the Civil War. Predominantly Democratic during the territorial period and in early statehood, Iowans gradually leaned toward the abolitionist views of prominent Republican leaders. By 1860 the Republicans were definitely increasing their popularity, while the Democratic party was on the decline. During the bitter presidential campaign of that year the slavery issue was paramount. After the firing on Fort Sumter, Republican newspapers in Iowa tended to favor a more outspoken stand on slavery than that taken by the national administration, while Democratic editors were equally confident that freedom for the slaves would be ruinous.

The motives for opposition to the Negro in Iowa were principally economic. To the Irish and German workers in the northeastern river counties of Iowa, the threat of cheap Negro labor seemed to be a sword hanging over their source of daily wages. There was, of course, considerable name-calling by both parties. "Black Republican" and "Nigger-loving Republican" were pat phrases for the Democrats, and the Republicans were ready with "Copperhead" and "Traitor." In the exchange of words and in the voting, the Republicans came off the better, and by 1865 every major state office and all of Iowa's congressional delegation came from Republican ranks.

In these circumstances, the Fourteenth Amendment and much of the so-called Reconstruction program became party issues in Iowa, as they were elsewhere in the Union. Even with the Thirteenth Amendment freeing the slaves already proclaimed, Iowa's constitution denied the franchise to Negroes, although the proper steps were soon taken to amend that provision. Since both the proposed Fourteenth Amendment and the alteration of the Iowa constitution were being ratified at about the same period, the single issue of Negro suffrage apparently became fixed in the public's mind in regard to both the federal and state amendments. A canvass of newspapers from virtually every section of the state during the years when the proposed

⁴ The statutes and case referred to in this paragraph are cited and discussed in Dorothy Schaffter, "The Iowa 'Civil Rights Act,'" *Iowa Law Review*, 14:63, 64-5 (December, 1928). See also Leola Nelson Bergmann, "The Negro in Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 46:50 (January, 1948).

constitutional amendment was under discussion has revealed little political apostasy. Neither party chose to bend an inch in conceding the possibility of truth in the opponents' arguments. It is significant, however, that both parties regarded the Fourteenth Amendment as relating only to Negro suffrage, the validity of the national debt, and the representation of the states in Congress. Other matters, such as the use of separate schools, did arise occasionally; however, the right of the Negro to vote was the supreme issue.

Shortly after the House of Representatives passed the proposed constitutional amendment, a special correspondent for the Dubuque *Herald*, probably the leading Democratic newspaper in Iowa at the time, sent in an alarming report. "The 'amendment' not only proposes that negroes shall be made citizens in all the southern states, but it disfranchises the whole white population of the south," the reporter declared. "Its whole intent is to permanently dissolve the Union, revolutionize the government and concentrate all its powers in the hands of the radical faction."⁵ Without alluding to the amendment, the Democratic Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle* published a simultaneous denunciation of the Republican party that had called for a change of administration in 1860. The change had come, said the *Bugle* editor: "and now, the tax payers of the North . . . are paying the following enormous amounts to keep them [Negroes] in clothes and feed them:

. . . School Marms for Niggers. 21,000

School Houses for Niggers. 300,000. . . ."⁶

The editor of the Cedar Rapids *Cedar Valley Times* was a Republican who took a calmer view of affairs. He asserted that the tension between the Negroes and whites in the South would ease, "providing it is not too much tinkered at." He was satisfied with the Civil Rights Bill and the Freedmen's Bureau, and conceded that the North "cannot expect the South to at once give their former slaves all the rights and privileges guaranteed them in the Civil Rights bill." Forcefulness was the answer. "Let the South know that this must and *will* be done, and the level [of equality] will be found at [a] not distant period in the future."⁷

At the Republican state convention held in the summer of 1866 the civil rights of Negroes came up for discussion. Before adjourning, the convention adopted a resolution which was widely distributed and printed in most

⁵ Dubuque *Weekly Herald*, May 23, 1866.

⁶ Council Bluffs *Weekly Bugle*, May 24, 1866.

⁷ Cedar Rapids *Cedar Valley Times*, May 17, 1866.

of the Iowa newspapers that adhered to the Republican cause. The resolution declared that "the first and highest duty of our free Government is to secure to all its citizens, regardless of race, religion or color, equality before the law, equal protection from it, equal responsibilities to it, and to all that have proved their loyalty by their acts, an equal voice in making it."⁸

The Iowa General Assembly had adjourned *sine die* in April, 1866, and thus was powerless to act on the proposed amendment until 1868. There was every prospect, therefore, that the amendment would be ratified by other states and become a part of the Constitution before the next General Assembly convened. Perhaps this long time span accounts for the absence of any protracted newspaper debate over the amendment. An even more probable explanation is the apathy, then as now, toward the long process of ratification when other issues seem to be more vital and pressing.

To many Democratic editors in the Midwest and Middle Atlantic states, the concern of the Radicals in Congress for Negro suffrage concealed a sinister motive — political domination of the South. Several Democratic organs, including the influential *Chicago Times*, were ready to concede the franchise to the Negro as inevitable. The remarks of a Cedar Rapids editor seemed to give credence to the Democratic charges: "We enter our solemn protest against the Copperhead [Democratic] party stealing our nigger, just as we have got him in a condition in which he can be of some use to us, and setting him to work for that party which fired on our rear while we were fighting, to get him on grounds where he could take care of himself and assist us."⁹ Only two weeks earlier, the same newspaper had posed the question: what if the Fourteenth Amendment should fail? Declaring that the North had shown little vindictive spirit, the newspaper warned the South that northern patience was wearing thin:

If, then, the amendment should not be ratified, we find the country in the same condition it has been since the close of the war: a condition bordering very nearly on the anarchical. . . . But we cannot remain thus; parties are now arrayed in opposition, the one asking admission of rebels into Congress and allowing them all the privileges given to loyal men; the other demanding certain restrictions in these privileges and enjoyments. . . . [I]f they persist in refusing . . . and . . . if they thus insist upon being

⁸ *Ibid.*, July 12, 1866.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1866.

banished or hung, there are laws to cover these cases and a Government loyal and powerful enough to execute them.¹⁰

The Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil* also saw in the amendment a crushing of the "conspicuous rebels," but was less threatening in tone. "That amendment will guarantee equality before the law to all men, an equitable basis of representation," punish rebels, and obliterate the Confederate debt. The editor concluded the amendment was necessary because it "puts these things in the Constitution beyond the jurisdiction of State authority."¹¹

Before the year ended, the Cedar Rapids editor believed the problem of the freedmen could be solved. The best solution was "to provide ways and means for their education." Northern benevolence could not be depended on, nor could each state be expected to make provisions for Negro education. This would be particularly true in the South, where "the prejudices against caste and color would exist as before, so that to carry out any provision for educating the freedmen by the States, would be impracticable and wholly inoperative." Then came the solution:

The only practical plan is to give them the *privilege of educating themselves*, and this can be done by conferring upon them the *elective franchise*. . . . Give the Freedmen, then, a controlling voice in the municipal affairs of the States of which they are citizens, and we will see the Free School system spring up all over the South, thus benefiting not only the colored citizens, but also that class denominated the "poor whites," whose education has always been as limited, and their influence upon society as pernicious as that of the blacks. . . .¹²

The Dubuque *Herald's* Washington correspondent also had his view on the effect of Negro suffrage. After mentioning the bill before Congress that gave Negroes in the District of Columbia the franchise he declared the Washington Negroes were already "making no end of boasts of what they are going to do when they get control of the city government." He predicted that soon "white children will be compelled to sit with filthy negro children in all the public schools in Washington — and how much longer after that will we have to wait for the inauguration of the filthy practice of miscegenation?"¹³

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1866.

¹¹ Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, Dec. 1, 1866.

¹² Cedar Rapids *Cedar Valley Times*, Dec. 6, 1866.

¹³ Dubuque *Weekly Herald*, Dec. 26, 1866.

Another indication of the Iowa view of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866 comes from the diary of Charles Mason, former Chief Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court. Mason spent much of his time in Washington, where he had a lucrative law practice and was a frequent caller at the White House. He alludes to the amendment as "distasteful" to many northern Republicans and predicted that its introduction would "enable us to overthrow the radical power there."¹⁴ Mason thought the amendment, which he viewed as a suffrage device, would "certainly be now rejected." He doubtless carried this conviction when he was the Democratic nominee for the governor's post in Iowa during the ensuing campaign of 1867.

From the river city of Davenport, where local circumstances were a factor in any discussion of the Negro, there came a demand for an additional amendment. The nature of the proposal indicates an assumption, on the writer's part at least, that the Fourteenth Amendment did not go beyond protection of the Negro franchise. Civil rights for the Negro, the editorial declared, were in jeopardy because the constitutional status of the Civil Rights Bill was in doubt. "The short way and the only way to the root of the whole difficulty is through an amendment to the Constitution," which could be added to Section 10 of the first Article, declaring: "No State shall enact any law, or attempt the enforcement of any existing enactment or regulation, under the provisions of which any citizen may be disfranchised, or deprived of any civil or political right, or privilege, or immunity, on account of race or color."¹⁵ For the editor the problem of the freedmen had a second solution. This was an alteration of Section 2 of Article 4 of the Constitution by adding a clause, which would state: "And no citizen shall in any State be denied the exercise of the elective franchise, or be deprived of any privileges or immunities on account of race or color; but all citizens shall be in all respects equal before the law."

At times the problems of the Negro in the South appear to have been a nuisance to Iowans. Some looked back longingly to the time before the Civil War when the Mississippi had been an avenue of commerce to the South. "Instead of quarreling about military reconstruction bills, and other questions of no importance to the people, and being divided off into hostile political parties, we ought all to be united," the *Jefferson Era* com-

¹⁴ Charles Mason Remey (ed.), *Life and Letters of Charles Mason* (12 typescript vols., Washington, 1939), 8:963-4.

¹⁵ *Davenport Weekly Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1867.

mented, "working for the greatest good to all, striving to arrange amicable commercial relations with the people of the Southern States."¹⁶ Implicit in this advice was a brusque demand from agrarian sources in central Iowa for more attention to farm prices and home affairs. The fact that Jefferson, and Greene County, were without a Negro population might account for this impatience with what seemed to be a remote problem.

Shortly before the 1867 gubernatorial campaign in Iowa, the *Davenport Gazette* gave its approbation to a list of resolutions reportedly passed at a Petersburg, Virginia, meeting. The resolves favored impartial suffrage, equal taxation, and further declared: "That not one dollar of the public money shall be appropriated for the education of the white child unless another dollar is appropriated along side of it for the education of the black child."¹⁷ Once the political campaigns had been launched, however, there seems to have been a tendency to "play down" the Negro question in some newspapers, and to raise it in others. "Will the Iowa City Republican please tell us whether negro suffrage is an issue this summer?" the *Iowa City State Press* demanded.¹⁸ The *Press* was edited by John P. Irish, a Democratic member of the state House of Representatives, who constantly reminded his readers that his party was against the adoption of the state Negro suffrage amendment. As for the national question of Negro suffrage, Irish had earlier warned that by giving four million Negroes "voice and influence in the government . . . while their weight will not be felt in the social or industrial scale, it will count heavily in the average of crime and they will be an element to be moulded under the hand of any ambitious villain. . . ." ¹⁹

Despite the outcry from the Democrats, Iowa voters gave heavy majorities to the Republicans who were committed to passage of the state suffrage amendment and support of the federal program of the Radical Republicans in Congress. Buoyed by the ballot box, the Republicans moved ahead with their state program and ratification of the federal amendment. Outgoing Governor William M. Stone noted in his last message to the General Assembly that Iowa schools were open to all youth, regardless of their color. He went on to commend the Fourteenth Amendment as a device "designed

¹⁶ *Jefferson Era*, Apr. 5, 1867.

¹⁷ *Davenport Weekly Gazette*, May 15, 1867.

¹⁸ *Iowa City State Press*, July 31, 1867.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1867.

to secure in a more permanent form the dear bought victories achieved in the mighty conflict" of recent memory.²⁰ In his inaugural address, Governor Samuel Merrill urged the General Assembly to place before the state's voters the Negro suffrage amendment to the Iowa constitution, but he did not mention the federal amendment.²¹

Before the General Assembly had acted on the federal amendment, the most influential newspaper in the state took the view that the amendment had already been adopted. The Fourteenth Amendment "has been ratified by the legislatures of twenty-two States — more than three-fourths of all the States now in the Union — and is therefore adopted," the Des Moines *Iowa State Register* announced.²² Such a pronouncement, from the leading newspaper and voice of the Republican party in Iowa, seemed to indicate that the issue was settled. The impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson was crowding other news from Iowa newspapers, and when the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment came up for debate in the General Assembly it was scarcely reported. The paucity of real information and the failure to report debates in the General Assembly journals thwart the efforts made to learn the legislative opinion of the measure. However, it is significant that the *Senate Journal* alludes to the Fourteenth Amendment as the proposal "in regard to representation, reconstruction and the national debt."²³ A newspaper account of the debate on the final day of discussion reveals that at least one Senator was critical of the amendment. Senator B. B. Richards was quoted as saying that Congress "wrapped up some bad sections with some good, and asks us to adopt or reject the whole. They have presented a bitter pill sugar-coated to us and say take it as a whole or not at all." Richards added that the manner of presenting the amendment "in this way was designedly, infamously and wickedly" a congressional error.²⁴ Despite Richards' remarks, the amendment passed the final reading, 34 to 9.

After the amendment had been approved by the General Assembly it was reprinted in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, which appended an out-of-state comment from the *Chicago Tribune*:

²⁰ *Oskaloosa Herald*, Jan. 23, 1868.

²¹ *Idem*.

²² *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, Feb. 19, 1868.

²³ *Senate Journal*, 1868, 112.

²⁴ *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, Mar. 18, 1868.

The country has waited for the ratification of the 14th amendment until most of its provisions have been superseded by other legislation. If the existing policy of Congress is carried out, it will make very little difference whether it is ratified. The clause relating to the public debt is now the only important provision contained in it, and this is rather a declaration of a purpose than a rule of action. . . .²⁵

The *Herald* editor took no issue with the *Tribune* verdict, and apparently agreed with the Illinois newspaper.

Until the Negro suffrage issue was settled in Iowa, later in 1868 and in favor of the Negro, the question of social and political equality was infrequently mentioned in state newspapers. The *Hamilton Freeman* wanted to separate opinion on suffrage and "nigger equality." "To say that because we will not recognize social equality we will deny to men the same privileges [sic] which we ourselves possess under the law, is a very poor argument indeed."²⁶ After the Negroes had been granted the franchise in November by a majority of more than 24,000 votes, the *Dubuque Herald* concluded that "the word 'white' had become an abomination. It must be expunged from the constitution of every state in the union. It cannot be any more seen on the records of the country when contradistinguished from black. . . . Nigger, whole nigger, and nothing but nigger, must be the order of the day."²⁷

Perhaps one reason why the "separate but equal" question was not prominent in Iowa newspapers during the period of ratification is accounted for in the prevailing practices. The antislavery societies and abolition organs had created a favorable climate of opinion toward common school education in parts of Iowa as early as 1856. The editor of the *Iowa City Republican* did an unusual thing in 1867 when he lauded the Democratic school board in Iowa City, which had for "more than eleven years [made certain that] colored children have had just the same access to our schools as any others. . . ."²⁸ The school superintendent in Jackson County overruled the Otter Creek board of directors in 1867 and ordered the admittance of Negro children to county schools.²⁹ Cases of expulsion of Negro pupils,

²⁵ *Oskaloosa Herald*, Mar. 26, 1868.

²⁶ Quoted in *Marshalltown Times*, July 18, 1868.

²⁷ *Dubuque Weekly Herald*, Dec. 19, 1868.

²⁸ *Iowa City Republican*, Sept. 18, 1867.

²⁹ *Dubuque Weekly Herald*, Jan. 30, 1867.

and of the maintenance of a private teacher for Negro children, were known in Polk and Van Buren counties in 1868.³⁰ But known instances of discrimination were brought to light, and soon the offending school boards were under attack from the press and presumably from public opinion.

The issue of separate schools in Iowa was determined in favor of the Negroes in the case of *Clark v. The Board of Directors*,³¹ which arose in Muscatine in 1867. The Muscatine school board was maintaining a "separate school for colored children, in a comfortable building, with proper furniture and provided with a competent teacher." Alexander Clark sent his daughter to the school for white children, where she was denied admittance on the ground that "public sentiment in said independent district is opposed to the intermingling of white and colored children in the same schools. . . ." The Muscatine District Court did not uphold the school board in its action. Upon appeal to the Iowa Supreme Court the right of a school board to withhold educational facilities from any Negro youth was denied. Similar decisions were handed down in two separate school cases in 1875, and the question was apparently settled.³²

Although the incidents in 1867 and 1868 involving the separate schools did not arise from a public discussion or from public sentiment regarding the Fourteenth Amendment, their outcome is germane because they indicate the prevailing attitude toward Negro education in Iowa. An 1873 case involving the denial of equal accommodations to a Negro on a common carrier was decided favorably for the quadroon plaintiff, and the Fourteenth Amendment was cited in the state Supreme Court opinion as a basis for the decision.³³ The General Assembly passed an act in 1884, implementing federal legislation, which is known as the Iowa Civil Rights Act.³⁴

Whether citizens in other states accepted the Fourteenth Amendment at face value when it was ratified can only be determined by individual state studies. It is noteworthy, however, that by 1882 the Negro had been deprived of many of the rights the constitutional amendment had been expected to make permanent; and, in a Supreme Court case heard during

³⁰ *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, Jan. 29, Feb. 19, 1868.

³¹ *24 Iowa Reports*, 266 (1868).

³² *Smith v. The Directors of the Independent School District of Keokuk*, 40 *Iowa Reports*, 518 (1875); *Dove v. The Independent School District of Keokuk*, 41 *Iowa Reports*, 689 (1875).

³³ *37 Iowa Reports*, 145 (1873).

³⁴ *Laws of Iowa, 1884*, Chap. 105.

1882, Roscoe Conkling successfully argued that the due process and equal protection clauses were meant to protect "corporations as well as humans."³⁵ The effectiveness of the Fourteenth Amendment as an agency of protection for the individual citizen was further obscured by the Supreme Court decision on *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. In its decision the Court held that while the amendment was primarily adopted "to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law," certain conditions were not intended. The Court held that laws requiring the separation of races might be enacted by the "state legislatures in the exercise of their police power."

The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of States where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced.³⁶

The Supreme Court may conceivably outlaw the dual school system as incompatible with its present understanding of the "equal protection of the laws" guaranty of the Fourteenth Amendment. It could perhaps achieve almost the same practical result while abiding by precedent by imposing a heavy burden of proof on those states attempting to provide "separate but equal" schools.

This educational issue, which has both international as well as national overtones, was not the concern of Iowans during the Reconstruction period. From the available evidence it may be assumed that Iowa newspaper editors, lawyers, and legislators — and probably the general public — regarded the Fourteenth Amendment at the time of its ratification as a device primarily to aid Negroes but also aimed at the supporters of the late Confederacy. The amendment was expected to give the Negro a voice in public affairs through the ballot, to punish recalcitrant southern states by curbing their representation in Congress, and to put the validity of the national debt beyond question. If these Iowans discussed the meaning of "equal protection of the laws" or "privileges and immunities of citizens," it has not been discovered. The Iowan of Reconstruction days seems to have accepted the amendment as another of those devices used by Congress, as Governor Stone had said, "to secure in a more permanent form the dear bought victories" of the recent Civil War.

³⁵ Kelly and Harbison, *American Constitution*, 462.

³⁶ 163 *United States Reports*, 544 (1896).

SCHOOL DAYS IN COIN, IOWA, 1880-1885 — CATHERINE WIGGINS PORTER

Edited by Kenneth W. Porter

My father, James W Wiggins, had never fully recovered from typhoid fever contracted while serving in the Civil War, and after a severe illness which came upon him one threshing season¹ he was no longer able to do the work necessary on a farm. My two brothers, only eleven and thirteen,² were too young to do more than assist him, nor was it in my parents' program that any of their children should be brought up without all the school privileges available. They had no thought of taking their sons out of school to work if it could be avoided. My mother was particularly determined on education for her offspring, a serious disappointment in her own girlhood contributing to her feelings on the subject. Her mother had had a brother living in Greenville, Mercer County, Pennsylvania, who was educating his own two daughters at an academy. He offered to have "Catherine," my mother, go to the "academy" with his two daughters and thus pay for a horse he had purchased from his brother-in-law, her father. How Mother longed to go! — but "Think we'll let her go and eat up the horse, do they?" was her parents' comment on the proposition. Consequently my mother and father decided to sell the farm, implements, and stock, reserving only our team Sam and Fan, two cows, Reddy and Elrick, and a few hogs and chickens, and move to the little nearby town of Coin, in the same county.³ I have no recollection of how much the cows and hogs brought, save that my own Whiteface sold for twenty dollars in gold.

Coin had a population of six or eight hundred. The main street ran east and west; our house was the last one at the west end of the street, on the north side. After heavy rains farmers could scarcely drive their wagons

¹ The illness is described in Kenneth W. Porter (ed.), "A Little Girl on an Iowa Farm, 1873-1880 — Catherine Wiggins Porter," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:155 (April, 1953). Apparently it was a "stroke" of some kind.

² David Lincoln Wiggins (1867-1945), of Hoxie, Kansas, and San Diego, California; and Samuel Telford Wiggins (1869-1953), of Selden, Kansas, and Douglas, Arizona.

³ In Page County in southwestern Iowa; Coin is in the south central part.

through the streets, for they would sink into the mud nearly up to the axles. The stores were all frame buildings, usually of one story although sometimes of two. Nearly all, save for the drugstores and those which sold hardware and implements, were general stores with groceries on one side and dry goods on the other. There were no window displays to speak of and everything was open to flies save perhaps for some such makeshift as a piece of mosquito bar over merchandise which particularly needed protection — no cellophane in those days! Barrels of crackers and gingersnaps, and of white and brown sugar, stood about open and without covers. There were, however, showcases with mixed candy. There were no refrigerators, and butcher shops were almost the only places with “coolers,” as they were called — large boxes with ice in a compartment above. On the dry goods side were boots, shoes, and dress goods on open shelves. There were no ready-made dresses, but there were men’s suits, and coats for both men and women. The drugstores usually had a display of four or more large globes of variously colored water in the windows. Patent medicines were a big seller; the drugstores used to buy Warner’s Safe Cure in \$100 and Pierce’s in \$50 lots, and sell them at six bottles for \$5.00. There were no soda fountains. The drugstores had showcases with towers at each end, which, after the newer-style cases came into use, were called “monkey cages.”

There were two drugstores, and several combination dry goods and grocery stores; one of the latter was the Prince & Reed store. Mr. Prince, one of the owners, was a Negro — a fact which now seems to me rather remarkable for the time, although I then thought little of it. There was a bank, a saloon, and the usual other business concerns. Coin was on the Wabash Railroad, and shortly after our arrival the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy was also built through the town. I am told that at this point in its construction the contractor ran out of money, whereupon the men went on strike and threatened to hang him, but I knew nothing of this at the time. Despite all difficulties the road was eventually built, and many a pair of “scissors” did I make by laying pins in the form of an X on the track for the engine to run over.

My brothers had their first “store suits” shortly after moving to town, and each of us had a photograph (tintype) made in a tent at Shenandoah,⁴ to which we had gone to attend a fair. Occasionally we get these pictures out and have a good laugh over them. I was, and looked, frightened to

⁴ In western Page County, on the Fremont County line, northwest of Coin.

death, and it was only after a big cry and much persuasion that I would face the camera.

While our new house was being built we lived with one of my father's second cousins, Andy Wiggins, whose house stood in a row of several which were nearly, or quite, alike, and "thereby hangs a tale." My timidity had not been left behind when I came to the little town and was increased by the strangeness of the surroundings, strange buildings, strange faces — everything strange — so it was with genuine suffering that I made my way to school that first day. The one-room schoolhouse was crowded, everyone seemed to be looking at me, and as the hours passed I became more and more distressed, until, when the first recess came, I ran to the hall, snatched my wraps, and set out running in the direction of home. Seeing what I thought was the right house I dashed up to the door, turned the knob, and literally fell into the house. Looking up, what was my horror to see strange faces and to hear strange voices — jabbering, jabbering I knew not what! I sprang to my feet and away I flew, this time — O joy! — to reach home and to see my mother's face, and friends. I later found that the people upon whom I had called so informally were a fine family of very kindly Swedes.

For several weeks the family problem was how to get me back into school; neither coaxing, nor shaming, nor bribing could move me, for along with my timidity I had a sizable streak of stubbornness. I would hide my clothes, hide the comb, anything to delay until I would be tardy, and after nine o'clock I would be safe for at least a half-day. Finally one day my mother had for dinner some infrequent dish of which I was very fond — oddly, I cannot remember at all what it was — and in an unguarded moment I said, "If you'll have *this* for dinner every day I'll go to school!" "Done!" said Mother, and I was caught, but I wouldn't break my word, so back to school I went, and in a little while began to enjoy it very much, even though my original intangible fear was always somewhere present to a greater or lesser degree.

Our house, a frame building which began going up a very few days after we reached Coin, was of one-and-a-half stories and cost about a thousand dollars. My father helped with its construction, since he could handle ordinary carpenter's tools quite skillfully. In front, on the south, was a small covered porch which we called a "portico," with railings on the east and west. The front door opened on a small hall with a staircase leading

directly to the second floor where there were two rooms of equal size. At first there were only two rooms downstairs also — a sitting room on the west and a kitchen on the east — but later a rather large lean-to was built on the north, providing space for a bedroom and kitchen and a roomy pantry which during the winter contained among other provisions a barrel of cured meats, beef, and pork. After these additions the room formerly used as a kitchen became the sitting room or dining room and the sitting room became the place to entertain callers or visitors — the *parlor*, if you please.

The furnishings of the house were rather scant and inexpensive, but there were always carpets on the floor. We had the same tables as on the farm — a “drop leg” from Pennsylvania and one made by Father — perhaps half a dozen dining room chairs, a rocker, a sort of day bed which could be opened to full size, two cupboards, a four-hole cookstove, a hard coal base-burner heating-stove — and at that it was hard to keep things from freezing in below-zero Iowa weather — and, most impressive of all, “dressed up” beds. Those were the days of “pillow shams.” After the bed was “made,” and the bolster and small pillows were in place, these pillow shams were placed in front of them. They were flat pieces about $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet square, edged with lace and with some figure (ours was a dove) worked on them either by chain-stitch or very small braid sewed on by machine. Mother’s shams completely covered the square pillows and had tucks around the edge of the square and also ruffles which were tucked. They *were* pretty, and it does me good to remember them.

We had no cellar under the house, but a fine cave to the north. Just east of the cave was the well — of the old oaken bucket type, similar to the one on the farm. There were no shade trees when we arrived, but the two pines set in the front yard shortly after grew into quite large trees during the five years we remained. Board walks ran in all directions: to the street from the front door on the south; to the barn on the north; and to the property of an aunt, Margaret McCollum, my mother’s sister, on the east. Of course there was a small garden with sweet corn, potatoes, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, tomatoes, onions, etc. The barn was of wide boards, stripped with batting, one-and-a-half stories high, four stalls below and a haymow above. The pigpen to the east of the barn was partly floored, as Father took pride in allowing his pigs the privilege of cleanliness.

The first schoolhouse we attended was of two rooms, a large one for

assembly and a small one for recitations. During the first winter there were three or four "big bad boys" who made life very unpleasant for the teacher. One afternoon matters came to a climax, and the teacher gave permission for all who wished to leave the room. While it was not definitely so announced, we knew there was going to be a fight between the teacher and three of these boys. I don't recall whether the teacher encountered them one at a time or *en masse*, but I do remember that at one time they got the teacher on the floor, and although eventually he was victorious, when the hand bell was rung to call us back into the schoolhouse the teacher was very white and certainly puffing hard.

It was, I think, in 1882 that a new schoolhouse was built, a wonderful improvement on anything I had ever seen. It was of two stories, two rooms on the first floor and two above. What a thrill to go "upstairs" to school! Blackboards — only they were green — entirely around the room, good white chalk — for very special purposes chalk of various colors — everything very fine indeed. Tablets and lead pencils had not come into use (neither had tests); everyone used a slate and slate pencil. Most slates had plain wooden frames, but some pupils boasted frames whose edges were covered with heavy red flannel and bound with round shoestrings which passed through eyelets in the frame. Some particularly fortunate ones had double slates which opened and closed like a book. Some of us cleaned our slates with small rags or sponges moistened with water from a little bottle which we kept on our desks; others used the moistening agent employed by bootblacks since time began. I think we were germproof. A covered inkwell was on each desk, conveniently situated for coloring the hair of the girl in front.

While reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling were perhaps stressed, other subjects were also taught pretty thoroughly. Reading was my favorite study and then came grammar. I was in what probably might have been called the third and fourth grade, since I was using a *New American Third and Fourth Reader*, and one's reader placed one in other subjects as well (the same reader was used for two years). My other books were Ray's *Third Part Arithmetic*, Monteith's *Primary Geography*, the *New American Speller*, and a Spencerian copybook (easy copies). I am not sure what primary grammar was used, but I could never forget the "sausage-link" diagramming I so delighted to do, explaining the diagram and naming the parts of speech in the sentence, and in each and every case telling "why."

There was a statement on the first page of the grammar to the effect that there was a natural and an artificial language: the natural language had consisted of signs and grunts which, after ages had elapsed, eventually developed into an artificial language such as that which we now used. I had heretofore thought that Adam and Eve had used the same language as we, and certainly never thought that our language had developed in any such way; consequently this explanation was a revelation to me. I now wonder how such an idea got into a schoolbook of that time.

Spelling classes were both oral and written. Not only were the words to be spelled correctly, but also divided into syllables, and often we were required to write or give orally the diacritical markings. For written work we, of course, used our slates. In oral classes we were stood in a line, toes on a mark drawn on the floor, and kept there until by a failure to recite properly we lost our position in the line. At the end of each class the pupil who by virtue of superior recitation was at the head of the line received a "head mark," and each week the list of those getting marks, and the number, was read out.

Each reading lesson included a list of words not only to spell and mark as to their pronunciation but also to define. We became rather adept in using and naming the diacritical marks.

About twenty minutes per day were devoted to penmanship. The Spencerian system was distinguished by a certain slant and was much more difficult than the Barnes system which came into use several years later.

Geography consisted largely of map study — the locating of lakes, rivers, bays, isthmuses, straits, etc., and also defining these terms. During these recitations we stood in line, as in spelling. The capitals of the states were memorized and recited orally and individually, written, or repeated in concert, thus:

Maine, Augusta, on the Kennebeck River;
New Hampshire, Concord, on the Merrimac River;
Vermont, Montpelier, on the Onion River;
Massachusetts, Boston, on the Boston Harbor;
Rhode Island, Providence, on Providence Bay;
Newport, on Narragansett Bay;
Connecticut, Hartford, on the Connecticut River;⁵ . . .

⁵ For similar geographical chants, see Flo V. Menninger, *Days of My Life: Memories of a Kansas Mother and Teacher* (New York, 1939), 123; Paul G. Brewster,

and so on, through the capitals of all the states and territories. Not much attention was given to the products of the various countries, and as far as the manners and customs of the people were concerned — they seemed remote as Mars. Sometimes we would have contests. Two pupils would choose up sides and then the teacher would give one from each side a pointer and name the place to be located, the slower pupil then being seated and the winner remaining until he in turn was defeated. Often there would be an obvious tie, and then other opportunities were given until one contestant definitely lost. I liked this very much and, if I may say so, was pretty good at it. Parents often visited the schools in those days, and my father once happened in when we were studying South America. I was asked to locate Tierra del Fuego, and to my shame and disgrace was unable to do so; but I have known where it is ever since that afternoon.

Arithmetic was my bane then, and until I began teaching, truly

Multiplication was a vexation,
Division was as bad,
The Rule of Three perplexed me,
And fractions drove me mad.⁶

I had little notion of what it was all about, and my great concern and aim was to “get the answer,” which was always given at the end of a problem.

I was always glad when the time came for the class in reading. Sometimes we stood in line for this class, but more often we occupied the recitation benches and the “reader” took his place in front. The members of the class made the corrections, if any, on the performance, and we were meticulous in our criticisms of such errors as mispronouncing a word, hesitation, using the falling for the rising inflection, and *vice versa*, monotone, etc. We had never heard of a rhetorical pause, and in correct reading the voice *always* fell at a period, colon, or semicolon, and *never* at a comma or question mark. Volunteers who thought they could improve on the previous reader were sometimes called for, and someone was usually ready for performance sometimes resulting in chest expansion, sometimes in deflation. It was in this class that I pushed fear into the background and almost

“More Indiana Ballads and Songs,” *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 5:188 (September, 1941).

⁶ James Orchard Halliwell, *The Nursery Rhymes of England* (London, 1842), 135. Percy Tracts, Vol. IV. Same as in text except for substitution of “practice” for “fractions.”

mounted up on wings. There were a number of dialogues, the parts in which, as assigned by the teacher, we would read with all the expression of which we were capable. Though more than fifty years have elapsed,⁷ I can still recall many selections. There was "The Discovery of America," which began:

First Speaker. "What is this wild story you have heard, sir?
Columbus' return, the east discovery [sic] by sailing west-
wardly? Impossible!"

Second Speaker. "It is even so, Don Gomez. A courier has just
arrived at the palace with the news."

Then there was a dialogue about a boy who was lazy about getting up in the morning. Four of the lines are:

Boy. "When Jack Frost is on the case
Bed is such a pleasant place."

Mother. "If you would not be a dunce,
Brave the cold and rise at once."

Other selections were not in dialogue form. The speech of Patrick Henry, from "It is natural for man to indulge in illusions of hope" to "as for me, give me liberty or give me death!" never lost its zest. "'Will you walk into my parlor?' said the spider to the fly,"⁸ was in a reader used by one or both of my brothers.

A page of my reader I particularly remember was one with a picture of a man standing beside a large white horse, looking at a rainbow, and below the picture, the lines:

My heart leaps up when I behold
The rainbow in the sky.
So was it when my life began,
So is it now I am a man,
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die.⁹

Another well-remembered reading lesson was "On the Loss of the Royal George."¹⁰

Toll for the brave! The brave that are no more!
All sunk beneath the wave, fast by their native shore!

⁷ This was written in the late 1930's.

⁸ From "The Spider and the Fly," by Mary Howitt.

⁹ From "My Heart Leaps Up," by William Wordsworth.

¹⁰ By William Cowper.

Eight hundred of the brave whose courage well was tried
 Had made the vessel heel, and laid her on her side.
 A land-breeze shook the shrouds, and she was overset.
 Down went the *Royal George* with all her crew complete.
 Toll for the brave! Brave Kempenfelt is gone!
 His last sea-fight is fought! His work of glory done!
 It was not in the battle; no tempest gave the shock;
 She sprang no fatal leak; she ran upon no rock.
 His sword was in his sheath; his fingers held the pen,
 When Kempenfelt went down with twice four hundred men.
 Weight the vessel up, once dreaded by our foes!
 And mingle with our cup the tears that England owes.
 Her timbers yet are sound and she may float again,
 Full charged with England's thunder, and plow the distant main.
 But Kempenfelt is gone, his victories are o'er,
 And he and his eight hundred shall plow the waves no more.

I regarded this as an exceedingly sad poem and felt very sorry indeed for Kempenfelt, though I hadn't the slightest knowledge concerning the incident on which the poem was founded.

There were also pages of "exercises" in reading, on which we practised many times.

At midnight in his guarded tent
 The Turk lay dreaming of the hour
 When Greece, her knee in supplicance bent,
 Should tremble at his power.¹¹

If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, and a foreign troop were landed on my shore, I never would lay down *my* arms. Never, *never*, NEVER!¹²

Break, break, break, on thy cold gray stones, O sea!
 And I would that my tongue could utter the thoughts that arise
 in me.¹³

And there was mounting in hot haste; the steed,
 The mustering squadron, and the clattering car,
 Went pouring forward with impetuous speed;
 And the deep thunder peal on peal afar
 And near, the beat of the alarming drum
 Roused up the soldier ere the morning star;

¹¹ From "Marco Bozzaris," by Fitz-Greene Halleck.

¹² From a speech by William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Nov. 18, 1777.

¹³ From "Break, Break, Break," by Alfred Lord Tennyson.

While thronged the citizens with terror dumb,
Or whispering with white lips "The foe! They come! They
come!"¹⁴

Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear.
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its beauty on the desert air.¹⁵

There was never any hint as to the origin of these selections. How much more they might have meant to us!¹⁶

There was a morning and evening roll call. In the first we responded by repeating a verse (it might be from the Bible), or giving a maxim or motto, as they were called. Popular ones were: "Lost, yesterday, somewhere between sunrise and sunset, two golden hours, each set with sixty diamond minutes. No reward is offered, for they are gone forever." "We should always do right for the love of right, and not for hope of reward." "Our best friends are those who tell us of our faults and teach us how to correct them." Following the roll call there was sometimes singing, as also after dinner or even after recesses, to help us get in the mood for study. The first one I can recall was:¹⁷

There came to my window one morning in spring
A sweet little robin, she came there to sing,
And the tune which she sang was prettier far,
Than ever was heard on the flute or guitar. . . .
Then she raised her light wings and went soaring away
And was never seen more till the break of the day.

Another, hardly worth mentioning:

¹⁴ From "Childe Harold," Canto III, by Charles Gordon, Lord Byron.

¹⁵ From "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," by Thomas Gray.

¹⁶ No attempt has been made to check these quotations against the originals; they have been presented as the author remembered them. The editor remembers another selection, which Mrs. Porter would frequently repeat and which seems to belong with those quoted above — "Lochiel's Warning," by Thomas Campbell, which begins "Lochiel, Lochiel, beware of the day / When the Lowlands shall meet thee in battle array!" After completing this manuscript the author remembered another fragment, probably from a school reader of this period, in which a rabbit cautions her young ones to be careful: "Or else the curious old grey cat / Will scratch your peepers out."

¹⁷ Vance Randolph, *Ozark Folksongs* (Columbia, Mo., 1950), 4:411, ascribes the authorship of this song to George J. Webb, on the authority of *The New First Music Reader* (Boston, 1889), 102.

Come and go along with me,
 Have a game of ball,
 Anna, Laura, Zebedee,
 Harry, John, and all.
 Tra la la la, tra la la la, tra la la la la la la la la,
 Tra la la la, tra la la la, tra la la la la la la.

Jingle jing, I hear the ring,
 Hurry now to school.
 Do not wait or you'll be late,
 Don't forget the rule.

Another Coin school-song was sung to the tune, "Johnny's So Long at the Fair":¹⁸

Dear, dear, what can the matter be?
 Oh dear, what can the matter be?
 Dear, dear, what can the matter be?
 Parents won't visit the school!

Now if they'd come in they'd find all in their places
 With neatly combed hair and clean hands and clean faces,
 With all that is good, and none that disgraces.
 Now why won't they visit our school?

Still another was:

Dirty little faces, loving little hearts,
 Eyes brimfull of mischief, skilled in all its arts.
 "That's a precious darling." "What are you about?"
 Half-a-dozen asking, "Please, may I go out?"¹⁹

In the evenings we responded by giving the number of times we had whispered or otherwise misbehaved during the day, or, if guiltless of any wrongdoing, by answering "Perfect." Suffice it to say, there were many incorrect responses given; also, that sometimes we were "tattle-tales."

My two brothers were in the most advanced room and had good teachers. One I often heard mentioned was a Mr. Dodge. They were much more apt in their studies than I, who had really to apply myself in order to learn. They had morning roll call as did we, and I remember their laughing

¹⁸ A tune imported from England in colonial times. Sigmund Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America* (New York, 1948), 31-2.

¹⁹ Apparently a parody on John Godfrey Saxe's railroad poem, "Riding on the Rail." The editor remembers the concluding line of one stanza, perhaps the last, as "Bless me this is pleasant, teaching public school!"

about three boys, who knew their names would be called consecutively, collaborating on their roll call. The agreement was that the first should answer, "Jesus wept," the second, "Moses crept," and the third, "Aaron went a-fishin'." The plan was carried out according to schedule. Once when the teacher was experiencing marital trouble and, indeed, was getting a divorce, my younger brother Sam answered roll call with "It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top than with a brawling woman in a wide house." (Proverbs 21:9.) I know very little of the methods employed in that room except that my brothers liked the work and that in the spring of 1885 they had completed all that was offered.

Three days of school stand out in my memory. One was when some sort of electrical machine was brought to the school, the electricity turned on, and anyone who wished could take hold of the "handles" or "knobs" and see how much current he or she could take. When my turn came I couldn't let go as soon as I wished, but the man in charge turned off the current before any harm resulted. Then one day Blind Boone²⁰ came and played marvelously on the school organ. One selection, his own composition, represented a storm which had recently occurred at Blanchard, Iowa.²¹ Several years later I heard him play the same selection on a piano at Lenora, Kansas.

Writing in autograph albums was famous in those days. A memorable day for me was when General O. O. Howard,²² who had lost an arm in the Civil War, gave me his autograph, which I still have. He wrote only his name and title: Gen O O Howard, Brig Gen U S A. Most autographs, however, were accompanied by rather silly verses such as:

Remember me when far far off
Where the woodchucks die of the whooping cough.
When you are old and cannot see
Put on your specs and think of me.²³

²⁰ A famous Negro musician.

²¹ In southern Page County, on the Missouri border.

²² The famous "Christian general," Indian fighter, negotiator of a treaty with the Apache chief Cochise, and a founder of Howard University in Washington, D. C., for Negroes, of which he was president, 1869-1874. From 1880 to 1882 he was superintendent of West Point and at the time of this visit was commander of the Department of the Platte. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 9:279-81, is a rather critical sketch by an historian with strong Southern views.

²³ Carl Sandburg, *Always the Young Strangers* (New York, 1952), 123, mentions this inscription as popular in Galesburg, Illinois, during his schooldays, probably about 1890.

When rocks and hills divide us
And You no more I see,
Just take a pen and paper
And write a line to me.

Roses are red, violets are blue,
Sugar is sweet and so are you.

Occasionally a solemn verse would appear: "Guard well thy thoughts; our thoughts are heard in heaven."

When I am dead and in my grave
And weeping willows o'er me wave . . .
Your friend who used to be.

Literary society met every two weeks on Friday evening. The programs were scarcely "literary" on all occasions, but the whole community attended and had a good time. Children from all the rooms took some part each night and this, of course, brought out many parents. Friday after recess was devoted to preparing for our literary performances of the evening; or, if no meeting was scheduled for that day, we had spelling and ciphering matches. The teacher appointed two captains who chose up sides, and we spelled down or ciphered down. Occasionally the test was the speed with which we could write the multiplication table correctly, both forwards and backwards. "Professor" Dodge used a strange but effective method of preparing his pupils for their parts in the literary program. He insisted that they should be memory-perfect, no matter what the distraction, so while they were drilling for their performances the other pupils might throw paper wads, chalk, and erasers, talk aloud — anything to annoy. If the pupil could survive this ordeal he was pronounced competent.

On the literary society program there were dialogues, declamations, musical numbers both vocal and instrumental. There were no "readings"; selections were memorized and there was usually a "prompter." Gestures were the infallible sign of a good speaker. One girl made a specialty of delivering "Curfew Shall Not Ring Tonight,"²⁴ with many gesticulations. Two or three days before "literary" met she broke her arm and, of course, could not participate, much to the more or less secret amusement of some of her unappreciative schoolmates. Sometimes parents would also take part, and it was thus that I first heard "The Song of All Songs," sung by Elias

²⁴ By Rosa Hartwick Thorpe (1850-1939).

Coleman, whose wife, Sarah Jane Brown, was my mother's cousin. The idea behind this song was to string together as many as possible of the titles of songs popular about this time.²⁵

Mr. Coleman also sang "We Are Coming, Father Abraham, Three Hundred Thousand Strong,"²⁶ and another Civil War song:

I threw down me shovel,
Shook hands with me spade,
And off here I go
Like a dashing young blade.
A soldier from the army
He asked me to enlist.
Says I, "Me good fellow,
"Gimme a hold on yer fist!"
La, la, ding doda ah!²⁷

Another song, probably sung at the literary society, was, "Nellie Was a Lady."²⁸ I can recall from these literary society programs only one number sung by a quartette: "Come Where the Lilies Bloom,"²⁹ the chorus of which began "Come where the lilies bloom so fair."

The games played at the Coin school were the usual ones: blackman, baseball, crack-the-whip, etc. We smaller girls often skipped the rope and played "keeping house," "button, button," London Bridge, and drop the handkerchief. We played only two games which I had not known at country school. One of these was "Old Witch." I can recall little of how it

²⁵ Spaeth, *History of Popular Music*, 120, styles this song, one of Stephen Foster's latest and poorest, published in 1863, "one of those hodge-podge potpourris of titles . . . of which only a few would now be recognized even by name." Information about other popular songs, unless other sources are specified, are also from Spaeth. The lines remembered by the author will not be included as the words and music can be found in full in Sigmund Spaeth, *Read 'Em and Weep* (Garden City, New York, 1926), 48.

²⁶ Music, 1862, by Stephen Foster; words by James Sloan Gibbons. For text, see George Cary Eggleston, *American War Ballads and Lyrics, 1725-1865* (New York, 1889), 160; Angie Beebe, *An Original Collection of War Poems and War Songs of the American Civil War, 1860-1865* (Red Wing, Minn., 1903), 22-3.

²⁷ "The True Paddy's Song," John A. and Alan Lomax, *Our Singing Country* (New York, 1941), 200-201. See also Randolph, *Ozark Folksongs*, 3:240-41 (no music).

²⁸ One of Stephen Foster's earliest, published in 1849. For words and music, see *Minstrel Songs* (Firth, Pond & Co., 1851; Mrs. S. C. Foster and Marion Foster Welch, 1879), 172-3 — and probably many other collections.

²⁹ Not listed in the index to Spaeth, *History of Popular Music*. James Norman Hall, *My Island Home* (Boston, 1952), 16, mentions this as a favorite quartette number in Colfax, Iowa, about 1902-1904.

was played except that there was a mother and her children and an old witch who stole the children one by one as the mother was called into the house by someone calling, "Mother, mother, the pot's boiling over!" but why the mother was out of doors and how she got her children back I cannot recall.³⁰ The other game, supposed to be played by both boys and girls, though sometimes by girls alone, was "The Trizzle-ma-Tree" or "Rovers Arriving."³¹ Several girls joined hands and stood in a line. The same number of "Rovers" joined hands and stood about twenty feet away, facing the girls. As the Rovers started toward the line of girls, the latter sang:

Here come (number) Rovers arriving, arriving, arriving,
Here come (number) Rovers arriving
To dance the Trizzle-ma-tree.

When the Rovers had arrived, the girls again sang:

Oh won't you take one, sir,
One of us, sir, one of us, sir,
Oh won't you take one of us, sir,
To dance the Trizzle-ma-tree?

To which the Rovers, as previously agreed, sang either:

Oh yes, we'll take one of you, dears,
One of you, dears, one of you, dears,
Oh yes, we'll take one of you, dears,
To dance the Trizzle-ma-tree.

Or:

You're all too black and greasy,
You're all too black and greasy,

³⁰ Subsequent to the completion of the manuscript the author remembered that this game began with the repetition of the lines: "Chickeny Chickeny craney crow, / Went to the wall to wash her toe, / And when she got back one of her chickens was gone." For the most complete discussion of how to play "Chickeny chickeny craney crow," see William Wells Newell, "Game of the Child-Stealing Witch," *Journal of American Folklore*, 3:139-48, esp. 139-40 (April-June, 1890). For other references, see W. H. Babcock, "Song-Games and Myth-Dramas at Washington," *Lippincott's*, March, 1886, pp. 255-6; Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs* (Cambridge, 1925), 138-9; Mellinger E. Henry, "Nursery Rhymes and Game-Songs from Georgia," *Journal of American Folklore*, 47:335 (October-December, 1934).

³¹ Babcock, "Song-Games and Myth-Dramas," 244-5, describes a game resembling the "Trizzle-ma-tree" ("Sir Ransom Tansom tidty bo-teek"). "Here comes Three Dukes a-riding" seems to be essentially the same game.

You're all too black and greasy
To dance the Trizzle-ma-tree.

The Rovers continued arriving and retiring till all the girls had been chosen.

The great winter sport, whether at school or near home, was sleigh riding on small sleds. Father made each of us children one, strongly built, well-braced, runners shod with hoop-iron. More than once I failed to go home for dinner and put in the noon hour sleigh riding down the long hill near the schoolhouse. My brothers reported to my mother that I was a tomboy and rode on my sled "belly-busting," all of which was true — but it was so much fun!

A "Christian"³² preacher lived next door to us in my aunt's house and had two boys with whom I loved to play. Indeed I much preferred to play with boys, for girls generally had to be so ladylike and were always playing with dolls. I seemed to have no maternal instincts. Indeed, I was something of a cannibal, for I sometimes used the wax off my doll for chewing-gum. But these Leek boys — the preacher's sons — were real pals. We would steal matches and heavy brown wrapping-paper and go out into the corn patch where we would make and smoke cigars of dry corn silks wrapped in this brown paper. As a smoke they could scarcely be said "to satisfy" but did give us the gratification of doing something unusual. We would also steal salt and cucumbers, peel the cucumbers with a knife or bite off the rind, dip them in salt, and eat heartily. They were supposed to make us ill but never did.

Perhaps because of my unsocial attitude toward other girls, I can remember having attended only one party up to the time I was sixteen years old. The exception was a birthday dinner (or supper) at the home of Cora Watkins, whose father was station agent at the Wabash depot. The guests were half a dozen youngsters of about her own age — all girls.

During these five years in Coin we learned a good many more songs, though singing was not so much a family affair as when we were on the farm. Still, when any of us children were around the house a tune was usually in the air. Besides the songs picked up in school and at literary society, many more were learned from Father's G.A.R. songbook, which he acquired when he became a member of the Grand Army of the Republic shortly after coming to town — although before joining the order he had

³² Disciples of Christ.

first to overcome his wife's opposition. Mother was a rock-ribbed United Presbyterian, and the church barred from membership any member of an oath-bound secret society or lodge. Mother personally thought such organizations wrong. But Father, though himself a United Presbyterian, was a more liberal type of person. He had come from a dancing, singing family, and could see nothing wrong in belonging to such an organization as the G.A.R., whose oath, it seemed to him, wasn't very important or bad. The G.A.R. had a strong organization and wanted Father to join, so he, being nothing loathe, finally persuaded Mother, though with misgivings, to yield her consent. After going with Father to the "family meetings" of the order she soon withdrew all objections and was quite content in her husband's membership. The church made more strenuous resistance, but the G.A.R. was too strong for it, so the church finally gave way and said nothing further, this proving to be the entering wedge for all secret organizations.³³

Many of the Civil War songs were quite melancholy, such as "We're Tenting Tonight on the Old Camp Ground,"³⁴ "Just Before the Battle, Mother," and "Tramp! Tramp! Tramp! The Boys are Marching!"³⁵ Of another melancholy Union song I remember only a fragment:

And when worn out with wounds and toil
We sink beneath the southern soil
And with no hope or friends to cheer
Each drooping, dying volunteer. . . .³⁶

Other songs were more cheerful, such as "The Battle Cry of Freedom,"³⁷ "Babylon Has Fallen,"³⁸ "Kingdom Coming" or "The Year of Jubilo,"³⁹

³³ Although the author has included complete or partial texts of most of the following songs, particularly those from the G. A. R. songbook, I give only the titles except in the case of songs which are not well known, are particularly interesting, or are very short.

³⁴ By Walter Kittredge, written 1862, published 1864. Beebe, *Original Collection*, 83.

³⁵ By George F. Root, 1863 and 1864, *ibid.*, 33, 79; Eggleston, *American War Ballads*, 277.

³⁶ The editor has been unable to find anything more about this song. Information will be gratefully received.

³⁷ By George F. Root, 1863, Beebe, *Original Collection*, 55; Eggleston, *American War Ballads*, 273.

³⁸ By the Abolitionist song-writer Henry Clay Work, 1863, honoring the Negro troops in the Union army. Beebe, *Original Collection*, 64; *Minstrel Songs*, 164-5.

³⁹ Another song by Henry Clay Work, 1862, celebrating the Negro slaves who were loyal to the Union. Sigmund Spaeth, *Weep Some More, My Lady* (Garden

"Marching Through Georgia"⁴⁰ and "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again."⁴¹

Of several other songs I remember only fragments:

*The Monitor and the Merrimac*⁴²

Fought seven hours with the big Merrimac,
The old Monitor went bobbing around
And drove her about 'till she ran her aground.

Then hoist up the flag and long may it wave,
Over the Union, the home of the brave!
Hoist up the flag and long may it wave,
Over the Union, the home of the brave!

*The Girl I Left Behind Me*⁴³

And when I'm fighting for my flag
And smoke and dust do blind me
I'll not forget to give a thought
To the girl I left behind me.

It was, I believe, to this tune that we sang another song of which I remember only a single line: "I'm lonesome since I crossed the plains."⁴⁴

*The Little Octoroon*⁴⁵

Near the old plantation at the close of day
Stood the weary mother and her child,

City, N. Y., 1927), 115; *Minstrel Songs*, 180-81; Louis Albert Banks, *Immortal Songs of Camp and Field* (Cleveland, 1899), 137-45; Eggleston, *American War Ballads*, 200.

⁴⁰ By Henry Clay Work, 1865. Banks, *Immortal Songs*, 137-45; Beebe, *Original Collection*, 20-21; Eggleston, *American War Ballads*, 270.

⁴¹ Words and music by Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, 1863. For text, see Charles O'Brien Kennedy and David Jordan, *American Ballads, Naughty, Ribald and Classic* (New York, 1952), 180-81.

⁴² The editor has been unable to find other words to the song or anything else about it; it may be the "Grand March, *Monitor*," by E. Mack (1862), which was written in commemoration of the battle. See Spaeth, *History of Popular Music*, 154.

⁴³ The tune of this popular military march is the English "Brighton Camp," which dates back at least to 1770.

⁴⁴ Obviously closely akin to "California Story," quoted from the *Oregon Spectator*, July 14, 1854, in the manuscript collection, *Oregon Songs and Ballads*, compiled by the late Randall V. Mills of the English department of the University of Oregon. It consists of four stanzas, of which the first is: "I'm lonesome since I crossed the plains / And fleeting are my joys: / Since all that's near and dear to me / I left in Illinois."

⁴⁵ The author actually remembered of this little-known song only its general theme — an episode of Sherman's march to the sea, the last two lines of the chorus, and that it was sung to the tune usually associated with "Ring the bells of Heaven,

List'ning to the sounds along the valley's way,
While their hearts with hope were throbbing wild.

Glory, glory! How the free-men sang!
Glory, glory! How the old woods rang!
'Twas the loyal army sweeping to the sea,
Flinging out the banner of the free!

Fly, my precious darling, to the Union camp,
I will keep the hounds and hunters here.
Go right through the forest though 'tis dark and damp,
God will keep you, dear one, never fear.

Chorus:

Where the blazing camp-fires gleamed amid the wood,
And the boys were halting for the night,
In her wondrous beauty Little Rosa stood
Trembling and alone before their sight.

Chorus:

Then the brave old gunner took her in his arms,
Thinking of his own dear ones at home,
And through all the marches and the rude alarms
Safely brought the Little Octoroon.

Chorus:

Other songs emphasized the more amusing side of military life, such as "Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines,"⁴⁶ and "The Army Bean."⁴⁷

Other songs sung in Coin were unconnected with the G.A.R. meetings or the G.A.R. songbook. A popular one was:

There is joy today" but, because of its rarity and interest, I have included the complete text, through the courtesy of Mrs. Rae Korson, reference librarian, Folklore Section, Music Division, Library of Congress. The words and music are by George F. Root, author and composer of numerous better-known Civil War songs, and it was published by Root & Cady, Chicago, 1866. The first two stanzas are also included in Emelyn Elizabeth Gardner, *Folklore from the Schoharie Hills of New York* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1937), 221; the third stanza and the chorus in Dailey Paskman and Sigmund Spaeth, *Gentlemen, Be Seated* (New York, 1928), 74.

⁴⁶ Words by William Horace Lingard, music by T. Maclagan, introduced into the United States from England in 1868 by the former. Edward Arthur Dolf, *Sound Off!* (New York, 1929), 27-9; B. A. Botkin, *The American Play-Party Song* (University Studies, XXXVII, Nos. 1-4, Lincoln, Nebr., 1937), 154-9; Kennedy and Jordan, *American Ballads*, 223-4.

⁴⁷ Dolf, *Sound Off!*, 318-19, from *Acme Haversack*, 1889; *Old War Songs* (Salt Lake City, n.d.), 7.

*Little Sam*⁴⁸

I'se a rovin' little darcy, all the way from Alabam'
 Where I used to hoe the cotton and the cane,
 An' de white folks dey will miss me when they shout for Little Sam
 'Cause I'se never goin' to live with 'em again.
 Oh I left 'em in de night when de moon was shinin' bright
 When I struck out for to find a happy land,
 An' I left my only brother and my dear old aged mother
 For I run away to be a contraband.

Hi, oh, hi! Jes' listen till I tell you who I am!
 I'se a rovin' little darcy all the way from Alabam'
 An' I'se free as anybody an' dey calls me Little Sam.

I'se round among the white folks now doin' for 'em all I can
 And they keep me busy workin' all the day,
 And when I does my duty well they pays me like a man,
 An' I'se gonna put my money all away;
 Oh I saves up every cent, 'ceptin' what I'se gonna spend
 For I'se gonna travel down to Alabam'
 For to see my only brother and my dear old aged mother,
 For I ran away to be a contraband.

Two Negro minstrel songs, sung by everyone, were "Golden Slippers"⁴⁹ and "Jordan Am a Hard Road to Trabble."⁵⁰

A "temperance song," heard in school and literary society, was "King Bibbler's Army." A favorite song of my brother David—he may have learned it in his division of school—was "Song of a Thousand Years."⁵¹

⁴⁸ Words and music by the famous Will S. (William Shakespeare) Hays, published by J. L. Peters, New York, 1867. The complete text includes a "middle" stanza. The concluding line, above, should be: "Who will gib a welcome home to 'Little Sam.'" Lucy Harvie Baldwin, *Grandmother's Songs* (privately printed for George J. Baldwin, 1926), includes a complete but rather corrupt text. The above information is by courtesy of Mrs. Rae Korson of the Library of Congress.

⁴⁹ By James A. Bland (1854–1911), best known as the author and composer of "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," one of the few Negroes who wrote Negro songs. The complete text can be found in J. Rosamond Johnson, *Rolling Along in Song* (New York, 1937), 154–7; *Minstrel Songs*, 195–7; Scarborough, *Negro Folk-Songs*, 172.

⁵⁰ Written and composed in 1853 by Dan Emmett, best known as the author of "Dixie." *Minstrel Songs*.

⁵¹ Both by Henry Clay Work, the latter written to encourage the Union forces when Lee invaded Virginia in 1863. Banks, *Immortal Songs*, 137–45; *Old War Songs*, 23.

A song which was popular with my brother David and other boys of his age was:

Hush, little baby, don't you cry!
 You'll be an angel bye-and-bye.
 When coffee's high and sugar's low,
 I'll put sugar in my coffee-o!⁵²

A scrap from a song which was a favorite of my brother Sam:⁵³

I took my girl to the restaurant. . . .
 She said she wasn't hungry,
 But this is what she ate:
 A dozen raw, a plate of slaw,
 A chicken and a roast. . . .

Checkers and Authors were the favorite evening games. In Authors the brothers often "ganged up" on me, and when this happened I hadn't a chance. On one such occasion I threw down my cards and rushed from the room, stopping in the doorway only long enough to pronounce what seemed to me a fearful curse: "Dog-gone every last one of you!"

We took three weeklies: *The Coin Eagle*, a local newspaper; *The United Presbyterian*, a religious journal; and *The National Tribune*, a G.A.R. publication. We children were growing up now, and Mother didn't need to read to us as she had on the farm, but she did read aloud from the *Tribune* the "doings" of Si Klegg, a fictitious character who wrote letters home to his sweetheart. One began: "I seat myself and take my pen in hand to tell you that I am well except the dog-on blisters on my feet and I hope you are enjoying the same great blessing." On one occasion he was left to do the cooking and decided to have rice. Not knowing its expansive qualities he nearly filled the kettle, and there was a picture showing the piles of cooked rice which he had deposited on his comrades' blankets, and his look of consternation as the rice continued to boil over.⁵⁴ The *Tribune* also recorded many soldiers' experiences in battle, prison, and camp. And oh dear, oh

⁵² A song of this title, "paying tribute to the eternal fascination of child life," by Morris H. Rosenfeld, appeared in 1884. Spaeth, *History of Popular Music*, 231. This description, however, hardly seems to apply to the scrap quoted.

⁵³ The editor has found no other reference to this satire on feminine gastronomic extravagance.

⁵⁴ H. T. Webster, *American Literature*, Nov., 1939, advances the theory that Wilbur F. Hinman's *Corporal Si Klegg and His 'Pard'*, written in 1887, strongly influenced Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage*.

dear, what a terrible man that paper pictured Grover (Veto) Cleveland to be!⁵⁵ Mother also read to us from the life of James A. Garfield,⁵⁶ one of the books for which my brother Lincoln canvassed. I particularly recall Garfield's experiences on the towpath and his speech on the occasion of President Lincoln's death, with the conclusion: "God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives!"

While living on the "forty" Christmas had received little attention — perhaps a stick of barber-pole candy or horehound in our stocking — but when we moved to Coin we found a different atmosphere. The big event was the community Christmas tree. A pine or cedar tree, as large as could be gotten into the Methodist church, was placed solidly on the platform and lavishly decorated with popped corn, tufts of cotton, and many small lighted candles. After a program, Santa Claus appeared and "treated" the children. The next event, and the high point of the evening, was the distribution of the presents, as it was here that everyone brought the gifts for friends and relatives. As many as possible were hung upon the tree and the rest piled around its base. As Santa took each gift from the tree he called the name of both receiver and giver and the presents were carried to the owner by Santa's helpers. This system, of course, gave opportunity for all sorts of jokes, both proper and crude — wrong name of donor; unofficial designation for donee; dolls, toys, etc., to newlyweds. On one occasion a sizable cylindrical box was presented to a rather snobbish citizen. "Oh," said he, much pleased, "a silk hat!" But when he opened the package, as all good sports were expected to do, behold, a utensil designed especially for the bedroom!

Political campaigns in those days were carried on with many speeches, both in and out of doors, torchlight processions, singing, the fife and drum. The campaign of 1884 is the first I remember. The Democratic candidates were Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks; the Republicans nominated James G. Blaine, the "Plumed Knight," and John A. Logan, a Civil War hero. The Prohibitionist standard-bearer was John P. St. John.⁵⁷ I

⁵⁵ Grover Cleveland, elected in 1884 as the first Democratic president since before the Civil War, "made a determined effort to weed out laxness and fraud in the granting of pensions." He vetoed 233 "special" pension bills. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1852-1933* (New York, 1935), 181.

⁵⁶ William Ralston Balch, *The Life and Public Career of Gen. James A. Garfield* (Philadelphia, 1880).

⁵⁷ John P. St. John (1833-1916), governor of Kansas, 1879-1883, led in the suc-

remember the Republican torchlight processions and a few words of one of their songs: "It's Blaine and Logan, hold the fort!" My mother was strongly Prohibitionist, so she and Father, a few nights before the election, went to Blanchard where the Reverend William Johnston, a fine talker and a thoroughly good man, spoke for the Prohibitionists. Every time he mentioned James G. Blaine the Republicans would break into cheers and drown the speaker out. Before this my father had been a Republican,⁵⁸ but, believing in free speech, he was so thoroughly disgusted that when election day came he voted for John P. St. John. My mother thought so much of Mr. Johnston's views that she pinned a newspaper clipping, in which they were expressed, to the fly-leaf of the family Bible.

The two churches in Coin were the United Presbyterian, to which my parents belonged, and the Methodist. The United Presbyterians moved along in the even tenor of their ways, holding Sabbath School and church and Wednesday evening prayer meetings each week and observing Communion at stated times. We children continued on Sabbath afternoons to study the catechism and to memorize Bible verses. The latter was rather easy for me and as a prize I received a book, "Always Happy," from my teacher, a Mrs. Love. The United Presbyterian preachers during my stay in Coin were R. M. Sherrard and John Pattison, both very kindly gentlemen. Mr. Pattison came over one day and wanted me to unite with the

cessful fight to add to the state constitution in 1880 an amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes — the first such constitutional amendment in history. In 1884 as Prohibition candidate for the presidency he is credited with having been a principal factor in the election of Cleveland, since he polled so many Prohibition votes in upstate New York from normally Republican electors that the state went to the Democratic candidate. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, 16:303-304.

⁵⁸ James W Wiggins, whatever his political views may once have been, was probably not as good a Republican at this time as his daughter assumed. His younger son, S. T. Wiggins, who was four years older than his sister, informed me in 1945 — and confirmed the statement in 1953 in a conversation with his older daughter, Mrs. Fred L. Thomas (letter to the editor, May 25, 1953) — that in 1880 his father voted for General James B. Weaver of Iowa, the Greenback candidate for the presidency — a logical enough choice for a poor Iowa farmer and Union veteran. In 1892 as Populist candidate General Weaver received a popular vote of over a million and 22 votes in the electoral college — a record for a "third party" candidate up to that time and, with the exception of Theodore Roosevelt on the Progressive ticket in 1912, up to the present time as well. Mrs. Wiggins, obviously a woman of strongly independent political views, is classed by her son as "a Prohibitionist and Populist," presumably meaning that, although she could not vote in the presidential elections, she threw her influence to one or another of these parties, according to circumstances.

church, but I had learned to sing hymns by hearing others sing them, especially at revival meetings, and had become so attached to hymn singing that I didn't want to promise to give it up. My parents thought I was too young to join the church, so didn't urge me.

Things were more lively at the Methodist church, especially when the revival season was on. United Presbyterians often attended these meetings but took no part in the singing, since they believed that the use in worship of man-made songs was wrong. This prohibition did not, however, apply to singing hymns outside of church and not in worship. Even my strict mother was fond of such uninspired religious songs as "Oh for a Closer Walk with God!"⁵⁹ "When I Can Read My Title Clear to Mansions in the Skies,"⁶⁰ "The Home of the Soul,"⁶¹ and another of which one stanza goes:

The wondering world enquires to know
Why I should love my Jesus so,
What are his charms say they above
The object of immortal love.⁶²

There was always plenty of excitement at the revivals — much singing, loud praying, emotional sermons, and personal testimonies from many. There was nothing peculiar about the sermons, as both the ministers during our stay had good sense. The Rev. Mr. Lymer was a very retiring, quiet young man; and Dr. Wickersham, who became a rather noted preacher and appeared on Chautauqua programs, although he liked some excitement was not carried away by it. Western Kansas, rather than Iowa, was the region to furnish queer things in religion. The Methodist church always had its "Amen Corner" where six to a dozen old men would sit and, individually or in chorus, shout "Amen!" whenever the preacher would make some telling statement or a brother or sister would give an outstanding testimony. The usual run of a testimony was, "I've been a Christian now for (a certain number of) years. Pray for me that I may ever be faithful." Then would follow fervent "Amens" from members of the congregation and es-

⁵⁹ By William Cowper, published 1772. John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, 1908), 1625, col. ii; 1626, col. i; 1680, col. ii.

⁶⁰ By Isaac Watts, published 1707, *ibid.*, 1269, cols. i-ii.

⁶¹ By Ellen Gates, nee Huntington, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, *ibid.*, 1565, col. i.

⁶² Not found in Julian, although he lists a hymn, "The Wondering Nations Have Beheld," by Anna Steele (1716-1778). *Ibid.*, 1089, cols. i-ii; 1090, col. i. The lines quoted certainly smack of eighteenth century evangelism.

pecially from the Corner. Occasionally some one would give a minute or two of exhortation in connection with his testimony. During the testimony period it was quite customary for someone to start a familiar song and all would join in. "Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing"⁶³ was a favorite in the Amen Corner, and was often "started" by Mr. McMichael, a very fine, devout old gentleman.

During one revival a mother became so much concerned over one of her sons that her mind became unbalanced. She would sit quietly enough during the sermon, but shortly after the testimonies and singing began she would become excited and hard to manage. She would rush forward to the minister and, in an attempt to display her gratitude for his endeavors on her son's behalf and to plead for their continuance, would try to embrace him. Her demonstrations became so embarrassing that Dr. Wickersham asked a couple of the men to see that she was restrained. On one occasion, however, she nearly got away from them, whereupon the minister cried out in alarm: "Hold her, boys, hold her!"

Shortly after we moved to Coin, Father got the job of running a meat wagon for the local butcher, Andy Miller. What might be described as a very large box with a door was placed upon the rear of our spring wagon and in this was kept ice and the meat, which Father about three times a week would sell to butcher shops in nearby towns and to country customers along the way. The ice was provided without aid of man by the many freezing days and nights of an Iowa winter. When the ice on creek or river was frozen as deep as desired, it was sawed into convenient pieces, put into a sort of cellar, well lined with straw, and an abundance of straw heaped over it. Father helped do the butchering, and as often as he wished might bring home as much liver as he desired without charge. Once in a while I was allowed to go with him on his trips, but not often, for he was up and away very early in the morning. Mother would prepare a lunch for us of pie or cookies, bread and butter, and cheese; sometimes we had thick sweet crackers, rather a luxury. Always we could have the most delicious bologna, made by Mr. Miller. I don't recall that Father and I did much talking as we jogged along behind old Sam and Fan; I think we didn't need to talk. Sometimes we did sing.

The prices of foodstuffs were much less than now. Milk was five cents

⁶³ By Robert Robinson, an English Nonconformist; first published in 1758 or 1759. *Ibid.*, 252, cols. i-ii; 969, cols. i-ii; 970, col. i.

per quart; butter, fifteen or twenty cents a pound; good beefsteak, fifteen cents per pound; liver — nothing. But if prices were low, so were wages, and we had to resort to various devices in order to make both ends meet. For a time Father and the boys were janitors of the United Presbyterian church. My older brother continued his activities as a book salesman and on Garfield's assassination added *The Life of James A. Garfield to Grant Around the World*.⁶⁴ Mother continued to weave many yards of carpet for customers bringing their own rags, also for her own use and to sell. It was a proud day when she brought home from Shenandoah, where she had been selling carpet to the furniture store, a brand new dresser and a Brussels rug to put in front of it. She also "boarded" and "roomed" a teacher throughout most school years. One was a rather whiny primary teacher. Another was a Mr. Andrews, who taught my room and once brought my dinner to me when I had elected to stay at school and slide down hill. He also taught us a song of which I recall only:

Oh my Susan Jane, she met me at the door,
And she said I'd better not come for to see her any more.
Her hair is long and curly and her neck is like a crane,
And I'm going for to leave you — Good-bye, my Susan Jane.⁶⁵

A Mr. Blakely who worked in a blacksmith shop was at our house part of the time and roomed with my brothers; he was a crotchety sort of person and they were more than a little in awe of him. My younger brother was quite a snorer, and one night Mr. Blakely was tried beyond his patience. He arose and shook the offender very roughly indeed, remarking with emphasis: "Now you lie awake while I snore awhile!" Unfortunately the disturber wasn't roused enough to know that he had been shaken and no sooner had Mr. Blakely returned to his bed than the snoring began again. The older brother lay wide awake, hugely enjoying the whole procedure but not daring to laugh or make a move.

My brothers could always make money. Shortly after we left the forty my older brother had come into possession of a little colt of old Fan's which developed into a beautiful iron-gray horse and was sold for \$150. This amount was invested in a small house, bought by my father and this brother,

⁶⁴ *General Grant Abroad: A Complete Account of His Famous Trip Around the World* (Chicago, 1879).

⁶⁵ By Will S. Hays, 1871. *Minstrel Songs*, 18-20. See also Randolph, *Ozark Folk-songs*, 3:184-5.

which was a source of monthly income. This same brother worked for farmers round about during the summers, and the younger brother helped one summer in a grocery store run by a Mr. Taylor, at a wage of \$3.00 per week.

My own business speculations were varied and fantastic. I despised sewing carpet rags even at five cents a pound, but wanted an organ so badly that I decided to earn one at the carpet-rag sewing business. However, after sewing four or five pounds, I gave up the venture, solving the organ problem for the time by informing Mother that "it would be so much nicer just to take the money and buy one." My older brother bought a strip of our lot a few feet wide from Father and developed quite a fine strawberry bed from which he realized several dollars. So, like Urias [Darius] Green with his flying machine,⁶⁶ I thought that if my brother could make money from a strawberry patch, so could I. The purchase price, however, was the catch. My brother solved the problem so far as he was concerned by proposing that I wash his work socks at two pairs for a nickel, and thus pay out. How he must have been laughing up his sleeve at his little ninny of a sister! I soon tired of the laundry business and took my pay to date in candy. Again taking my cue from this brother, who had done considerable peddling of such articles as needles, pin cushions, scissors, lead pencils, little velvet picture frames, and Royal Glue which was "guaranteed to mend everything solid as rock, hard as adamant," I embarked on my last financial venture. I borrowed his outfit and had sold a few articles when I stopped at a home where the lady of the house gave me such a tongue lashing for my unladylike conduct in going about as a peddler that I went home quite crestfallen.

My soul abhorred patchwork and dish washing, much to the disgust of my aunt, who made her home with us when she was not teaching, and my grandmother, who came out from Pennsylvania and visited with us a year. I haven't a doubt that I was lazy, but somehow work was presented as something to be avoided if possible, and I think it could as well have been made somewhat attractive. I didn't get on well with either my aunt or my grandmother, but one day, when I must have been on my good behavior, my grandmother gave me a very pretty translucent mug; and then one day

⁶⁶ "Darius Green and His Flying Machine," by John Townsend Trowbridge (1827-1916), a popular poetic recitation noted for its lines, "The birds can fly / And why can't I?"

when I was naughty she took it away from me and never gave it back. Mother would talk to me, and I would promise to try to do better, but I was forever sinning and repenting and didn't make much progress. Father didn't sympathise with their management of me and on one occasion when I had fled to the barn, which was my refuge in trouble, and was sitting on the manger feeling very sorry for myself, my younger brother followed me and said, "Father says you'd do a lot better if you weren't scolded so much." This did me a world of good, but nothing save my own laziness was to blame the morning I hid the dirty dishes well back in the dark closet under the stairway. When Mother was ready to get dinner neither pots, pans, nor plates were to be found, and when I saw her coming up the walk toward the barn, where I was with Father, I knew I was in for trouble. She had a small switch in hand and I started for the house before she reached me, but took time for a glance at Father, who smiled at me, not on me, as I well knew, and that hurt worse than any switch. I washed the dishes and never repeated *that* trick.

In the spring of 1885 my brothers had finished all the work offered in the Coin school. The older brother decided he wanted to be a druggist and got a job with Loy & Berryhill at \$10 per month, boarding himself. The younger wanted to be a farmer. Iowa land was far above our purse, but Father's health was much improved, farming methods somewhat easier, and the younger brother past fifteen and quite able to work, so it was decided that Father and brother should make a trip to Kansas, and, if they liked the country, we would move there. They came back quite "enthused." Father had taken two claims, a homestead and a tree-claim, and the prospect of owning 320 acres was indeed alluring — so much so that the older brother almost decided to make the move with us, but his employers offered to raise his wages and he remained in Coin. After much discussing, planning, packing of articles both to take with us in the covered wagon and to ship by railroad, we were finally ready; on the afternoon of June 11, 1885, old Sam and Fan were hitched to the "prairie schooner" and we were off to seek our fortune in the Sunflower State.

IOWANS IN CONGRESS, 1847-1953

Compiled by Mildred Throne

In June, 1834, Congress passed an act placing the newly opened area west of the Mississippi within the Territory of Michigan. The part of this territory to be later known as the state of Iowa was divided into two counties — Dubuque and Des Moines — by a line running west from the lower tip of Rock Island in the Mississippi River. Somewhat over a year later, in October of 1835, George Wallace Jones, then living at Sinsinawa Mound in present-day Wisconsin, was elected territorial delegate to Congress from the Territory of Michigan. Thus, Jones was the first man to represent Iowa in Washington. One of his first acts was to secure passage of a bill creating from the Territory of Michigan a new territory to be known as "Wisconsin," which included the future states of Wisconsin and Iowa and part of Minnesota and the Dakotas. Wisconsin Territory came into being July 4, 1836.

The first session of a legislature in Wisconsin Territory convened at Belmont, Wisconsin, on October 25, 1836. Again Jones was chosen as a territorial delegate, this time representing the Territory of Wisconsin. He at once began to work for a further division, which would create the Territory of Iowa. This division took place on July 13, 1838. William W. Chapman of Burlington was chosen as Iowa's first delegate to Congress. He was succeeded in 1840 by Augustus Caesar Dodge, also of Burlington, who continued to represent Iowa Territory until statehood on December 28, 1846.

The following is a compilation, with brief biographical information, of the 167 men who have served Iowa in Congress from 1847 to 1953 — from the Twenty-ninth through the Eighty-second Congresses. Iowa has sent 25 Senators and 149 Representatives to Washington. This makes a total of 174 Iowans in Congress, but 7 men who served as Representatives later moved up to the Senate, so that the net total is actually 167. The longest senatorial term was that of William B. Allison, who spent 35 years in the Senate, plus a previous 8 years in the House, for a total of 43 years of congressional service. The longest term in the House was that of Gilbert N. Haugen, who represented his district for 34 years.

Iowa's representation has been predominantly Republican: 120 of the total were Republicans; 39 were Democrats, 4 were Whigs, 2 were Greenbackers; one called himself a "Greenback-Democrat"; and one was an Anti-Monopolist.

The practice of law seems to have been the best background for a congressional career: 119 of Iowa's representatives in Congress earned their livelihood in whole or in part as lawyers; 27 were engaged in some form of business activity; 11 were primarily newspaper editors or publishers; while only 7 were farmers. In addition, there has been one doctor, one teacher, and one (Augustus Caesar Dodge) who seems to have had no profession beyond that of holding public office of one kind or another. Iowa has not yet sent a woman to Congress.

Nine of Iowa's governors have served the state in Congress, eight of them moving from Des Moines to Washington, while one (Nathan E. Kendall) reversed the process by going from the House to the governorship. Five Congressmen have gone from Washington to various types of diplomatic service, while five others have served in presidential cabinets. One — David B. Henderson — served as Speaker of the House for four of the twenty years he spent in that body. Membership in the Iowa General Assembly has been a good background for Congress: 73 of Iowa's 167 Congressmen had previous experience in the state legislature.

This information on Iowa's 167 Congressmen has been compiled largely from the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949*, published in Washington in 1950. Wherever extended biographies have been published, or are in preparation, such information has been included in the footnotes. Biographical information has been limited to statements of only major state and national office, date and place of birth and death, political affiliation, military service, and profession. The numbers preceding the names of Representatives indicate the state congressional district of the member; changes in the makeup of the districts are indicated in footnotes. Party affiliations and the dates of the years spent in Congress are in italics. Presidents in office during each Congress are shown in parentheses. Appended is an alphabetical list of the members, the number following each name indicating the first Congress in which the member served, the figure in parentheses, the total number of years served. The purpose of this compilation is to provide a ready reference on Iowans who have served their state in the national government.

TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS, 1845-1847 (James K. Polk)

Senate

(Senators not elected to this Congress)

*House*¹

- 1 S. Clinton Hastings, Bloomington (now Muscatine). (1831-1893). Born New York. *Democrat*. Lawyer. Iowa Territorial Council, 1838-1846, president for one term. House, *December 28, 1846-1847*. Chief Justice, Iowa Supreme Court, 1848-1849. Died California.
- 2 Shepherd Leffler,² Burlington. (1811-1879). Born Virginia (now West Virginia). *Democrat*. Lawyer. Iowa Territorial House, 1839-1841; Iowa Territorial Council, 1841-1845. Iowa Constitutional Conventions, 1844, 1846. House, *December 29, 1846-1851*. Died Burlington.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS, 1847-1849 (James K. Polk)

Senate

Augustus C. Dodge,³ Burlington. (1812-1883). Born Missouri. *Democrat*. Iowa Territorial Delegate, 1839-1846. Senate, *December 7, 1848-February 22, 1855*, resigned to accept post as U. S. Minister to Spain, 1855-1859. Lost governorship, 1859. Died Burlington.

George W. Jones,⁴ Dubuque. (1804-1896). Born Indiana. *Democrat*. Lawyer. Black Hawk War. Territorial Delegate, Michigan, Wisconsin, 1835-1839. Senate, *December 7, 1848-1859*. Minister Resident of U. S. to New Granada, 1859-1861. Died Dubuque.

*House*⁵

- 1 William Thompson, Mount Pleasant. (1813-1897). Born Penn-

¹ The first congressional district included all counties south of a line running from east to west along the northern borders of Lee, Henry, Keokuk, Mahaska, Jasper, Polk, Dallas, Guthrie, Audubon, Shelby, and Harrison counties. The second district included all counties north of that line. These districts were established Feb. 22, 1847. Although both Hastings and Leffler lived in what was actually the 2nd congressional district, they were elected from the state at large, without regard to districts. Paul S. Peirce, "Congressional Districting in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 1:344-61 (July, 1903).

² *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11:42. (Hereafter listed as DAB).

³ Louis Pelzer, *Augustus Caesar Dodge* (Iowa City, 1908); DAB, 5:344.

⁴ John Carl Parish, *George Wallace Jones* (Iowa City, 1912); DAB, 10:172-3.

⁵ By act of Jan. 24, 1848, a slight change was made in districts by moving Poweshiek County from the 2nd to the 1st congressional district. Peirce, "Congressional Districting in Iowa," 337.

sylvania. *Democrat*. Iowa Territorial House, 1843; Iowa Constitutional Convention, 1846. House, *March 4, 1847–June 29, 1850*, when seat declared vacant by contest with Daniel F. Miller. Civil War; regular army, retired 1875 as lieutenant-colonel. Died Tacoma, Washington.

2 Shepherd Leffler

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS, 1849–1851 (Zachary Taylor; Millard Fillmore)

Senate

Augustus C. Dodge

George W. Jones

House

- 1 William Thompson — seat declared vacant, June 29, 1850. Succeeded by:

Daniel F. Miller, Fort Madison. (1814–1895). Born Maryland. *Whig*. Lawyer. Iowa Territorial House, 1840. House, *December 20, 1850–1851*. Iowa House, 1894. Died Nebraska.

2 Shepherd Leffler

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS, 1851–1853 (Millard Fillmore)

Senate

Augustus C. Dodge

George W. Jones

House

- 1 Bernhart Henn, Fairfield. (1817–1865). Born New York. *Democrat*. Lawyer, banker, real estate. Register, U. S. Land Office, 1845. House, *1851–1855*. Died Fairfield.

- 2 Lincoln Clark, Dubuque. (1800–1886). Born Massachusetts. *Democrat*. Lawyer, judge. House, *1851–1853*. Died Massachusetts.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS, 1853–1855 (Franklin Pierce)

Senate

Augustus C. Dodge

George W. Jones

House

- 1 Bernhart Henn

- 2 John P. Cook, Davenport. (1817–1872). Born New York. *Whig*. Lawyer, banker. Iowa Territorial Council, 1842–1845. Iowa Senate, 1848–1851. House, 1853–1855. Died Davenport.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, 1855–1857 (Franklin Pierce)

Senate

George W. Jones

James Harlan,⁶ Mount Pleasant. (1820–1899). Born Illinois. *Whig-Republican*. Lawyer. Senate, 1855–1873, with one year break as Secretary of Interior, 1865–1866. Died Mount Pleasant.

House

- 1 Augustus Hall, Keosauqua. (1814–1861). Born New York. *Democrat*. Lawyer. House, 1855–1857. Chief Justice, Nebraska Territory, 1858–1861. Died Nebraska.
- 2 James Thorington, Davenport. (1816–1887). Born North Carolina. *Whig*. Lawyer, judge. House, 1855–1857. U. S. Consul to Aspinwall, Colombia, 1873–1882. Died New Mexico.

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, 1857–1859 (James Buchanan)

Senate

George W. Jones

James Harlan

*House*⁷

- 1 Samuel R. Curtis,⁸ Keokuk. (1805–1866). Born New York. *Republican*. Graduate of West Point. Mexican and Civil Wars, latter as major-general. Lawyer. House, 1857–August 4, 1861, when he resigned to enter army. Died Council Bluffs.
- 2 Timothy Davis, Dubuque. (1794–1872). Born New Jersey. *Whig*. Lawyer. House, 1857–1859. Died Elkader.

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, 1859–1861 (James Buchanan)

Senate

James Harlan

⁶ Johnson Brigham, *James Harlan* (Iowa City, 1913); *DAB*, 8:268-9.

⁷ By act of Jan. 28, 1857, Des Moines, Louisa, and Washington counties were changed from the 2nd to the 1st congressional district. Peirce, "Congressional Districting in Iowa," 338-9.

⁸ A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments . . .* (Des Moines, 1865), 35–50; *DAB*, 4:619-20.

James W. Grimes,⁹ Burlington. (1816–1872). Born New Hampshire. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa Territorial House, 1838–1845. Governor of Iowa, 1854–1858. Senate, 1859–December 6, 1869, when he resigned due to ill health. Died Burlington.

House

- 1 Samuel R. Curtis
- 2 William Vandever, Dubuque. (1817–1893). Born Maryland. *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War, major-general. House, 1859–September 24, 1861, mustered into army, but did not resign seat. U. S. Indian Inspector, 1873–1877. Died California.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, 1861–1863 (Abraham Lincoln)

Senate

James Harlan
James W. Grimes

House

- 1 Samuel R. Curtis — resigned August 4, 1861. Succeeded by: James F. Wilson,¹⁰ Fairfield. (1828–1895). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1857–1859; Iowa Senate, 1859–1861. House, December 2, 1861–1869; Senate, 1883–1895. Died Fairfield.
- 2 William Vandever — mustered into Union Army, September 24, 1861, but did not resign seat.

THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, 1863–1865 (Abraham Lincoln)

Senate

James Harlan
James W. Grimes

*House*¹¹

- 1 James F. Wilson
- 2 Hiram Price,¹² Davenport. (1814–1901). Born Pennsylvania.

⁹ William Salter, *Life of James W. Grimes* . . . (New York, 1876); *DAB*, 7:631-2.

¹⁰ *DAB*, 20:331-3.

¹¹ By act of April 8, 1862, the following congressional districts were established for Iowa:

1st: Lee, Van Buren, Davis, Des Moines, Henry, Jefferson, Louisa, Washington.

2nd: Muscatine, Scott, Clinton, Jackson, Jones, Cedar, Linn.

3rd: Mitchell, Howard, Winneshiek, Allamakee, Floyd, Chickasaw, Fayette, Clayton, Dubuque, Delaware, Buchanan, Bremer.

Republican. Banker, railroad president. Civil War, paymaster. House, 1863–1869, 1877–1881. U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881–1885. Died Washington, D. C.

- 3 William B. Allison,¹³ Dubuque. (1829–1908). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. House, 1863–1871, Senate, 1873–August 4, 1908 (died in office). Died Dubuque.
- 4 Josiah B. Grinnell,¹⁴ Grinnell. (1821–1891). Born Vermont. *Republican*. Minister, lawyer. Iowa Senate, 1856–1860. House, 1863–1867. Died Grinnell.
- 5 John A. Kasson,¹⁵ Des Moines. (1822–1910). Born Vermont. *Republican*. Lawyer. 1st Asst. Postmaster General, 1861–1862. U. S. Commissioner to International Postal Conference, Paris, 1863. House, 1863–1867, 1873–1877, 1881–July 13, 1884, when he resigned. Iowa House, 1868–1872. Minister to Austria-Hungary, 1877–1881. Minister to Germany, 1884–1885. Special Envoy to Congo International Conference, Berlin, 1885; to Samoan International Conference, 1889. Member U. S.-British Commission on Canada, 1898. Died Washington, D. C.
- 6 Asahel W. Hubbard, Sioux City. (1819–1879). Born Connecticut. *Republican*. Lawyer, banker. House, 1863–1869. Died Sioux City.

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS, 1865–1867 (Abraham Lincoln; Andrew Johnson)

4th: Appanoose, Monroe, Wapello, Marion, Mahaska, Keokuk, Jasper, Poweshiek, Iowa, Johnson, Tama, Benton.

5th: Fremont, Page, Taylor, Ringgold, Decatur, Wayne, Lucas, Clarke, Union, Adams, Montgomery, Mills, Pottawattamie, Cass, Adair, Madison, Warren, Harrison, Shelby, Audubon, Guthrie, Dallas, Polk.

6th: All remaining counties in northwestern Iowa. Many present-day counties had not then been established.

See Peirce, "Congressional Districting in Iowa," 339–43.

¹² *DAB*, 15:212–13.

¹³ *DAB*, 1:220–22. Professor Leland L. Sage of Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls has in preparation what will be the definitive biography of Allison.

¹⁴ Charles E. Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell* (Iowa City, 1938); *DAB*, 8:4–5.

¹⁵ *DAB*, 10:260–61. Professor Edward Younger of the University of Virginia is preparing a biography of John A. Kasson, which will be published by the State Historical Society of Iowa in 1954.

Senate

James Harlan — resigned March 15, 1865, to become Secretary of Interior. Succeeded by:

Samuel J. Kirkwood,¹⁶ Iowa City. (1813–1894). Born Maryland. *Republican*. Lawyer, banker. Iowa Senate, 1856–1859. Governor of Iowa, 1860–1864, 1876–February, 1877, when he resigned to enter Senate. Senate, *January 24, 1866–1867; 1877–March 7, 1881*, when he resigned to become Secretary of Interior, 1881–1882. Died Iowa City.

James W. Grimes

House

(Same membership as Thirty-eighth Congress.)

FORTIETH CONGRESS, 1867–1869 (Andrew Johnson)

Senate

James W. Grimes

James Harlan (See Thirty-fourth Congress)

House

1 James F. Wilson

2 Hiram Price

3 William B. Allison

4 William Loughridge, Oskaloosa. (1827–1889). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Iowa Senate, 1857–1860. House, 1867–1871, 1873–1875. Died Pennsylvania.

5 Grenville M. Dodge,¹⁷ Council Bluffs. (1831–1916). Born Massachusetts. *Republican*. Railroad builder and financier. Civil War, major-general. House, 1867–1869. Died Council Bluffs.

6 Asahel W. Hubbard

FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS, 1869–1871 (Ulysses S. Grant)

Senate

James W. Grimes — resigned December 6, 1869. Succeeded by:

¹⁶ H. W. Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood* . . . (Iowa City, 1893); Dan Elbert Clark, *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood* (Iowa City, 1917); *DAB*, 10: 436-7.

¹⁷ J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War* . . . (Indianapolis, 1929); Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . ., 109–116; *DAB*, 5:347-8.

James B. Howell,¹⁸ Keokuk. (1816–1880). Born New Jersey. *Republican*. Lawyer, newspaper editor. Senate, January 26, 1870–1871. Died Keokuk.

James Harlan

House

- 1 George W. McCrary,¹⁹ Keokuk. (1835–1890). Born Indiana. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1857; Iowa Senate, 1861–1865. House, 1869–1877. Secretary of War, March 12–December 11, 1877. U. S. Judge, 8th Judicial Circuit, 1880–1884. Died Missouri.
- 2 William Smyth, Marion. (1824–1870). Born Ireland. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Civil War, colonel. House, 1869–September 30, 1870 (died in office). Died in Marion. Succeeded by:
William P. Wolf, Tipton. (1833–1896). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Civil War, captain. Iowa House, 1863–1864, 1881–1885, speaker in 1884; Iowa Senate, 1867–1869. House, December 6, 1870–1871. Died Tipton.
- 3 William B. Allison
- 4 William Loughridge
- 5 Frank W. Palmer, Des Moines. (1827–1907). Born Indiana. *Republican*. Publisher, Des Moines Register. State Printer, 1861–1869. House, 1869–1873. Died Illinois.
- 6 Charles Pomeroy, Fort Dodge. (1825–1891). Born Connecticut. *Republican*. Lawyer, farmer. House, 1869–1871. Died Washington, D. C.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS, 1871–1873 (Ulysses S. Grant)

Senate

James Harlan

George G. Wright,²⁰ Des Moines. (1820–1896). Born Indiana. *Republican*. Lawyer, banker. Justice, Iowa Supreme Court, 1854–1870. Senate, 1871–1877. President, American Bar Assn., 1887–1888. Died Des Moines.

House

- 1 George W. McCrary

¹⁸ DAB, 9:302–303.

¹⁹ DAB, 12:2–3.

²⁰ DAB, 20:551–2.

- 2 Aylett R. Cotton, Lyons. (1826-1912). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa Constitutional Convention, 1857. Iowa House, 1868-1870, speaker, 1870. House, 1871-1875. Died California.
- 3 William G. Donnan, Independence, (1834-1908). Born New York. *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War, major. Iowa Senate, 1868-1870, 1884-1886. House, 1871-1875. Died Independence.
- 4 Madison M. Walden, Centerville. (1836-1891). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Teacher, editor. Civil War, captain. Iowa House, 1866-1867; Iowa Senate, 1868-1869. Lieutenant-Governor of Iowa, 1870. House, 1871-1873. Died Washington, D. C.
- 5 Frank W. Palmer
- 6 Jackson Orr, Montana and Boone. (1832-1926). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Civil War, captain. Merchant. Iowa House, 1868. House, 1871-1875. Died Colorado.

FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS, 1873-1875 (Ulysses S. Grant)

Senate

George G. Wright

William B. Allison (See Thirty-eighth Congress)

*House*²¹

- 1 George W. McCrary
- 2 Aylett R. Cotton
- 3 William G. Donnan
- 4 Henry O. Pratt, Charles City. (1838-1931). Born Maine. *Republican*. Lawyer, minister. Civil War. Iowa House, 1870-1872. House, 1873-1877. Died Cedar Rapids.

²¹ By act of April 17, 1872, Iowa was divided into the following congressional districts:

- 1st: Lee, Van Buren, Jefferson, Henry, Des Moines, Louisa, Washington.
 - 2nd: Muscatine, Cedar, Jones, Jackson, Clinton, Scott.
 - 3rd: Buchanan, Delaware, Dubuque, Fayette, Clayton, Winneshiek, Allamakee.
 - 4th: Winnebago, Worth, Mitchell, Howard, Hancock, Cerro Gordo, Floyd, Chickasaw, Wright, Franklin, Butler, Bremer, Hardin, Grundy, Black Hawk.
 - 5th: Marshall, Tama, Benton, Linn, Poweshiek, Iowa, Johnson.
 - 6th: Appanoose, Davis, Monroe, Wapello, Marion, Mahaska, Keokuk, Jasper.
 - 7th: Decatur, Wayne, Clarke, Lucas, Adair, Madison, Warren, Guthrie, Dallas, Polk.
 - 8th: Fremont, Page, Taylor, Ringgold, Union, Adams, Montgomery, Mills, Pottawattamie, Cass, Harrison, Shelby, Audubon.
 - 9th: Balance of counties in northwestern Iowa.
- See Peirce, "Congressional Districting in Iowa," 343-7.

- 5 James Wilson,²² Traer. (1835–1920). Born Scotland. *Republican*. Farmer, teacher. Iowa House, 1867–1871, speaker, 1870–1871. House, 1873–1877, 1883–*March 3, 1885* (seat successfully contested by B. T. Frederick). Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1878–1883. Professor of Agriculture, Iowa State College, 1891–1897. U. S. Secretary of Agriculture under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, 1897–1913. Died Traer.
- 6 William Loughridge
- 7 John A. Kasson (See Thirty-eighth Congress)
- 8 James W. McDill, Afton. (1834–1894). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1878–1881. House, 1873–1877; Senate, 1881–1883 (to fill out Kirkwood's term). Member Interstate Commerce Commission, 1892–1894. Died Creston.
- 9 Jackson Orr

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, 1875–1877 (Ulysses S. Grant)

Senate

George G. Wright
William B. Allison

House

- 1 George W. McCrary
- 2 John Q. Tufts, Wilton Junction. (1840–1908). Born Indiana. *Republican*. Farmer. Iowa House, 1870–1874. House, 1875–1877. U. S. Indian Agent of Indian Territory, 1879–1887. Died California.
- 3 Lucien L. Ainsworth, West Union. (1831–1902). Born New York. *Anti-Monopolist*. Lawyer. Iowa Senate, 1860–1862. Civil War, captain. Iowa House, 1871–1873. House, 1875–1877. Died West Union.
- 4 Henry O. Pratt
- 5 James Wilson
- 6 Ezekiel S. Sampson, Sigourney. (1831–1892). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Civil War, lieutenant-colonel. Iowa Senate, 1866. House, 1875–1879. Died Sigourney.
- 7 John A. Kasson

²² Earley Vernon Wilcox, *Tama Jim* (Boston, 1930); *DAB*, 20:330–31.

8 James W. McDill

9 S. Addison Oliver, Onawa. (1833-1912). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Civil War. Iowa House, 1863-1864; Iowa Senate, 1865-1867. House, 1875-1879. Died Onawa.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, 1877-1879 (Rutherford B. Hayes)

Senate

William B. Allison

Samuel J. Kirkwood (See Thirty-ninth Congress)

House

1 Joseph C. Stone, Burlington. (1829-1902). Born New York. *Republican*. Doctor. Civil War, captain. House, 1877-1879. Died Burlington.

2 Hiram Price (See Thirty-eighth Congress)

3 Theodore W. Burdick, Decorah. (1836-1898). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Banker. Civil War, captain. House, 1877-1879. Iowa Senate, 1886-1887. Died Decorah.

4 Nathaniel C. Deering, Osage. (1827-1887). Born Maine. *Republican*. Lumber, cattle business. House, 1877-1883. Died Osage.

5 Rush Clark, Iowa City. (1834-1879). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1860-1864, 1876, speaker, 1863-1864. House, 1877-April 29, 1879 (died in office). Died Washington, D. C.

6 Ezekiel S. Sampson

7 Henry J. B. Cummings, Winterset. (1831-1909). Born New Jersey. *Republican*. Lawyer, editor. Civil War, colonel. House, 1877-1879. Died Winterset.

8 William F. Sapp, Council Bluffs. (1824-1890). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War, lieutenant-colonel. Iowa House, 1865. U. S. District Attorney for Iowa, 1869-1873. House, 1877-1881. Died Council Bluffs.

9 S. Addison Oliver

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, 1879-1881 (Rutherford B. Hayes)

Senate

William B. Allison

Samuel J. Kirkwood

House

- 1 Moses A. McCoid, Fairfield. (1840–1904). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War. Iowa Senate, 1872–1879. House, 1879–1885. Died Fairfield.
- 2 Hiram Price
- 3 Thomas Updegraff, McGregor. (1834–1910). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1878. House, 1879–1883, 1893–1899. Died McGregor.
- 4 Nathaniel C. Deering
- 5 Rush Clark — died April 29, 1879. Succeeded by:
William G. Thompson, Marion. (1830–1911). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Iowa Senate, 1856–1860. Civil War, major. House, December 1, 1879–1883. Iowa House, 1885–1887. Died Linn County, Iowa.
- 6 James B. Weaver,²³ Bloomfield. (1833–1912). Born Ohio. *Greenbacker-Democrat*. Lawyer. Civil War, brigadier-general. House, 1879–1881 (as Greenbacker); 1885–1889 (as Democrat and Greenback-Laborite). Greenback candidate for presidency, 1880; Populist candidate for presidency, 1892. Died Des Moines.
- 7 Edward H. Gillette, Des Moines. (1840–1918). Born Connecticut. *Greenbacker*. Farming, manufacturing, editor. House, 1879–1881. Died Valley Junction.
- 8 William F. Sapp
- 9 Cyrus C. Carpenter,²⁴ Fort Dodge. (1829–1898). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Surveyor, land agent. Iowa House, 1858–1860, 1884–1886. Civil War, colonel. Register, Iowa Land Office, 1866–1870. Governor of Iowa, 1872–1876. Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1878. House, 1879–1883. Died Fort Dodge.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, 1881–1883 (James A. Garfield; Chester A. Arthur)

Senate

William B. Allison

²³ Fred Emory Haynes, *James Baird Weaver* (Iowa City, 1919); *DAB*, 19:568–70.

²⁴ *DAB*, 3:508–509. Mildred Throne, associate editor of the *State Historical Society of Iowa*, is preparing a full-length biography of Carpenter.

Samuel J. Kirkwood — resigned March 7, 1881, to become Secretary of Interior. Succeeded by:

James W. McDill (See Forty-third Congress)

House

- 1 Moses A. McCoid
- 2 Sewall S. Farwell, Monticello. (1834–1909). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Banker. Civil War, major. Iowa Senate, 1865–1869. House, 1881–1883. Died Monticello.
- 3 Thomas Updegraff
- 4 Nathaniel C. Deering
- 5 William C. Thompson
- 6 Marsena E. Cutts, Oskaloosa. (1833–1883). Born Vermont. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1861, 1870–1872; Iowa Senate, 1864–1866. Iowa Attorney General, 1872–1877. House, 1881–1883 (seat successfully contested by John C. Cook, who took seat on closing day of this Congress), *March 4, 1883–August 31, 1883* (died in office). Died Oskaloosa.
- 7 John A. Kasson (See Thirty-eighth Congress)
- 8 William P. Hepburn,²⁵ Clarinda. (1833–1916). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. Clerk, Iowa House, 1858. Civil War, lieutenant-colonel. House, 1881–1887, 1893–1909. Died Clarinda.
- 9 Cyrus C. Carpenter

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, 1883–1885 (Chester A. Arthur)

Senate

William B. Allison

James F. Wilson (See Thirty-seventh Congress)

*House*²⁶

- 1 Moses A. McCoid

²⁵ John Ely Briggs, *William Peters Hepburn* (Iowa City, 1919); *DAB*, 8:568-9.

²⁶ By act of March 23, 1882, Iowa was divided into the following congressional districts:

1st: Lee, Van Buren, Jefferson, Henry, Des Moines, Louisa, Washington.

2nd: Muscatine, Scott, Clinton, Jackson, Jones, Cedar.

3rd: Butler, Bremer, Grundy, Black Hawk, Buchanan, Delaware, Dubuque.

4th: Mitchell, Howard, Winneshiek, Allamakee, Floyd, Chickasaw, Fayette, Clayton.

5th: Marshall, Tama, Benton, Linn, Iowa, Johnson.

6th: Jasper, Poweshiek, Mahaska, Keokuk, Monroe, Wapello, Davis.

- 2 Jeremiah H. Murphy, Davenport. (1835–1893). Born Massachusetts. *Democrat*. Lawyer. Iowa Senate, 1874–1878. House, 1883–1887. Died Washington, D. C.
 - 3 David B. Henderson,²⁷ Dubuque. (1840–1906). Born Scotland. *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War, colonel. House, 1883–1903, Speaker of House, 1899–1903. Died Dubuque.
 - 4 Luman H. Weller, Nashua. (1833–1914). Born Connecticut. *Greenbacker-Democrat*. Farmer, lawyer, editor. House, 1883–1885. Unsuccessful for governor as Populist, 1901. Died Minnesota.
 - 5 James Wilson, Traer. (See Forty-third Congress). Election successfully contested by:
Benjamin T. Frederick, Marshalltown. (1834–1903). Born Ohio. *Democrat*. Foundry and machine business. House, *March 3*, 1885–1887. Died California.
 - 6 Marsena E. Cutts — died in office, August 31, 1883. Succeeded by:
John C. Cook, Newton. (1846–1920). Born Ohio. *Democrat*. Lawyer, judge. House, *December 3*, 1883–1885. Died Algona.
 - 7 John A. Kasson — resigned July 13, 1884. Succeeded by:
Hiram Y. Smith, Des Moines. (1843–1894). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa Senate, 1882–1884. House, *December 2*, 1884–1885. Died Des Moines.
 - 8 William P. Hepburn
 - 9 William H. Pusey, Council Bluffs. (1826–1900). Born Pennsylvania. *Democrat*. Lawyer, banker. Iowa Senate, 1858–1862. House, 1883–1885. Died Council Bluffs.
 - 10 Adoniram J. Holmes, Boone. (1842–1902). Born Ohio. *Republi-*
- 7th: Guthrie, Dallas, Polk, Adair, Madison, Warren, Marion.
 8th: Adams, Union, Clarke, Lucas, Page, Taylor, Ringgold, Decatur, Wayne, Appanoose.
 9th: Crawford, Harrison, Shelby, Audubon, Pottawattamie, Cass, Mills, Montgomery, Fremont.
 10th: Kossuth, Winnebago, Worth, Hancock, Cerro Gordo, Humboldt, Wright, Franklin, Webster, Hamilton, Hardin, Boone, Story.
 11th: Lyon, Osceola, Dickinson, Emmet, Sioux, O'Brien, Clay, Palo Alto, Plymouth, Cherokee, Buena Vista, Pocahontas, Woodbury, Ida, Sac, Calhoun, Monona, Carroll, Greene.
- See Peirce, "Congressional Districting in Iowa," 347–51.
- ²⁷ *DAB*, 8:525-6.

can. Lawyer. Civil War. Iowa House, 1882-1883. House, 1883-1889. Died Clarinda.

- 11 Isaac S. Struble, Le Mars. (1843-1913). Born Virginia. *Republican*. Civil War. Lawyer. House, 1883-1891. Died Le Mars.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS, 1885-1887 (Grover Cleveland)

Senate

William B. Allison

James F. Wilson

House

- 1 Benton J. Hall, Burlington. (1835-1894). Born Ohio. *Democrat*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1872-1873; Iowa Senate, 1882-1886. House, 1885-1887. Commissioner of Patents, 1887-1889. Died Burlington.
- 2 Jeremiah H. Murphy
- 3 David B. Henderson
- 4 William E. Fuller, West Union. (1846-1918). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1876-1877. House, 1885-1889. Asst. Attorney General, Spanish Treaty Claims Commission, 1901-1907. Died Washington, D. C.
- 5 Benjamin T. Frederick
- 6 James B. Weaver (See Forty-sixth Congress)
- 7 Edwin H. Conger,²⁸ Des Moines. (1843-1907). Born Illinois. *Republican*. Stockman and banker. Civil War, major. Iowa State Treasurer, 1880-1884. House, 1885-October 3, 1890, when he resigned to accept post of Minister to Brazil, 1890-1893. Minister to China, 1898-March, 1905. Ambassador to Mexico, March-October, 1905. Died California.
- 8 William P. Hepburn
- 9 Joseph Lyman, Council Bluffs. (1840-1890). Born Michigan. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Civil War, major. House, 1885-1889. Died Council Bluffs.
- 10 Adoniram J. Holmes
- 11 Isaac S. Struble

²⁸ DAB, 4:344-6.

FIFTIETH CONGRESS, 1887-1889 (Grover Cleveland)

Senate

William B. Allison

James F. Wilson

*House*²⁹

- 1 John H. Gear,³⁰ Burlington. (1825-1900). Born New York. *Republican*. Merchant. Iowa House, 1871-1873, speaker for two terms. Governor of Iowa, 1878-1881. House, 1887-1891, 1893-1895; Senate, 1895-July 14, 1900 (died in office). Asst. Secretary of Treasury, November 22, 1892-March 3, 1893. Died Washington, D. C.
- 2 Walter I. Hayes, Clinton. (1841-1901). Born Michigan. *Democrat*. Lawyer, Judge. House, 1887-1895. Iowa House, 1897-1898. Died Michigan.
- 3 David B. Henderson
- 4 William E. Fuller
- 5 Daniel Kerr, Grundy Center. (1836-1916). Born Scotland. *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War. Iowa House, 1883. House, 1887-1891. Died Grundy Center.
- 6 James B. Weaver
- 7 Edwin H. Conger

²⁹ By act of April 10, 1886, certain changes were made in Iowa's congressional districts as follows:

1st: Lee, Van Buren, Jefferson, Henry, Des Moines, Louisa, Washington.

2nd: Iowa, Johnson, Muscatine, Scott, Clinton, Jackson.

3rd: Wright, Franklin, Butler, Bremer, Hardin, Black Hawk, Buchanan, Delaware, Dubuque.

4th: Worth, Mitchell, Howard, Winneshiek, Allamakee, Cerro Gordo, Floyd, Chickasaw, Fayette, Clayton.

5th: Grundy, Marshall, Tama, Benton, Linn, Jones, Cedar.

6th: Jasper, Poweshiek, Mahaska, Keokuk, Monroe, Wapello, Davis.

7th: Story, Dallas, Polk, Madison, Warren, Marion.

8th: Fremont, Page, Taylor, Ringgold, Decatur, Wayne, Adams, Union, Clarke, Lucas, Appanoose.

9th: Harrison, Shelby, Audubon, Guthrie, Pottawattamie, Cass, Adair, Mills, Montgomery.

10th: Emmet, Palo Alto, Pocahontas, Kossuth, Winnebago, Hancock, Humboldt, Calhoun, Webster, Hamilton, Crawford, Carroll, Greene, Boone.

11th: Lyon, Osceola, Dickinson, Sioux, O'Brien, Clay, Plymouth, Cherokee, Buena Vista, Woodbury, Ida, Sac, Monona.

See Peirce, "Congressional Districting in Iowa," 351-4.

³⁰ DAB, 7:202-203.

- 8 Albert R. Anderson, Sidney. (1837-1898). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War, lieutenant-colonel. Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1881. House, 1887-1889. Died South Dakota.
- 9 Joseph Lyman
- 10 Adoniram J. Holmes
- 11 Isaac S. Struble

FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS, 1889-1891 (Benjamin Harrison)

Senate

William B. Allison
James F. Wilson

House

- 1 John H. Gear
- 2 Walter I. Hayes
- 3 David B. Henderson
- 4 Joseph H. Sweney, Osage. (1845-1918). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer, banker. Civil War. Iowa Senate, 1883-1889, president pro tempore, 1886. House, 1889-1891. Died Virginia.
- 5 Daniel Kerr
- 6 John F. Lacey,³¹ Oskaloosa. (1841-1913). Born Virginia (now West Virginia), *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War. Iowa House, 1870. House, 1889-1891, 1893-1907. Died Oskaloosa.
- 7 Edwin H. Conger — resigned October 3, 1890. Succeeded by: Edward R. Hays, Knoxville. (1847-1896). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Civil War. Lawyer. House, December 1, 1890-1891. Died Knoxville.
- 8 James P. Flick, Bedford. (1845-1929). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War. Iowa House, 1878-1879. House, 1889-1893. Died Bedford.
- 9 Joseph R. Reed, Council Bluffs. (1835-1925). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Civil War, captain. Iowa Senate, 1866-1868. Justice, Iowa Supreme Court, 1884-1889. House, 1889-1891. Died Council Bluffs.

³¹ DAB, 10:519-20.

- 10 Jonathan P. Dolliver,³² Fort Dodge. (1858–1910). Born Virginia (now West Virginia). *Republican*. Lawyer. House, 1889–August 22, 1900 (resigned to accept Senate seat vacated by death of Gear); Senate, December 4, 1900–October 15, 1910 (died in office). Died Fort Dodge.
- 11 Isaac S. Struble

FIFTY-SECOND CONGRESS, 1891–1893 (Grover Cleveland)

Senate

William B. Allison

James F. Wilson

House

- 1 John J. Seerley, Burlington. (1852–1931). Born Illinois. *Democrat*. Lawyer. House, 1891–1893. Died Burlington.
- 2 Walter I. Hayes
- 3 David B. Henderson
- 4 Walter H. Butler, West Union. (1852–1931). Born Pennsylvania. *Democrat*. Lawyer, editor. House, 1891–1893. Died Missouri.
- 5 John T. Hamilton, Cedar Rapids. (1843–1925). Born Illinois. *Democrat*. Wholesaler, banker. Iowa House, 1885–1891, speaker one term. House, 1891–1893. Unsuccessful candidate for governor of Iowa, 1914. Died Cedar Rapids.
- 6 Frederick E. White, Webster. (1844–1920). Born Germany. *Democrat*. Civil War. Farmer. House, 1891–1893. Died Sigourney.
- 7 John A. T. Hull, Des Moines. (1841–1928). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer, banker. Civil War, captain. Secretary, Iowa Senate, 1872–1878. Iowa Secretary of State, 1878–1884. Iowa Lieutenant-Governor, 1885–1889. House, 1891–1911. Died Virginia.
- 8 James P. Flick
- 9 Thomas Bowman, Council Bluffs. (1848–1917). Born Maine. *Democrat*. Merchant, railroad contractor, editor. House, 1891–1893. Died Council Bluffs.
- 10 Jonathan P. Dolliver

³² DAB, 5:359-60. Thomas R. Ross of Davis and Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia, is preparing a study of Dolliver.

- 11 George D. Perkins,³³ Sioux City. (1840–1914). Born New York. *Republican*. Editor. Civil War. Iowa Senate, 1874–1876. House, 1891–1899. Defeated for governor of Iowa, 1904. Died Sioux City.

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS, 1893–1895 (Grover Cleveland)

Senate

William B. Allison

James F. Wilson

House

- 1 John H. Gear
- 2 Walter I. Hayes
- 3 David B. Henderson
- 4 Thomas Updegraff (See Forty-sixth Congress)
- 5 Robert G. Cousins,³⁴ Tipton. (1859–1933). Born Iowa (first Iowa-born Congressman). *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1886. House, 1893–1909. Died Iowa City.
- 6 John F. Lacey
- 7 John A. T. Hull
- 8 William P. Hepburn
- 9 Alva L. Hager, Greenfield. (1850–1923). Born New York. *Republican*. Lawyer, banker. Iowa Senate, 1891. House, 1893–1899. Died Des Moines.
- 10 Jonathan P. Dolliver
- 11 George D. Perkins

FIFTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, 1895–1897 (Grover Cleveland)

Senate

William B. Allison

John H. Gear (See Fiftieth Congress)

House

- 1 Samuel M. Clark, Keokuk. (1842–1900). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer, editor. House, 1895–1899. Died Keokuk.
- 2 George M. Curtis, Clinton. (1844–1921). Born New York. *Republican*. Manufacturer, banker. Iowa House, 1888–1889. House, 1895–1899. Died Clinton.

³³ *DAB*, 14:469.³⁴ Jacob A. Swisher, *Robert Gordon Cousins* (Iowa City, 1938).

- 3 David B. Henderson
- 4 Thomas Updegraff
- 5 Robert G. Cousins
- 6 John F. Lacey
- 7 John A. T. Hull
- 8 William P. Hepburn
- 9 Alva L. Hager
- 10 Jonathan P. Dolliver
- 11 George D. Perkins

FIFTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, 1897-1899 (William McKinley)
(Same membership as Fifty-fourth Congress)

FIFTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, 1899-1901 (William McKinley)

Senate

William B. Allison

John H. Gear — died July 14, 1900. Succeeded by:

Jonathan P. Dolliver (See Fifty-first Congress)

House

- 1 Thomas Hedge, Burlington. (1844-1920). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. Civil War. House, 1899-1907. Died Burlington.
- 2 Joseph R. Lane, Davenport. (1858-1931). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. House, 1899-1901. Died Davenport.
- 3 David B. Henderson
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen,³⁵ Northwood. (1859-1933). Born Wisconsin. *Republican*. Agriculture, real estate, banking. Iowa House, 1894-1898. House, 1899-1933. Died Northwood.
- 5 Robert G. Cousins
- 6 John F. Lacey
- 7 John A. T. Hull
- 8 William P. Hepburn
- 9 Smith McPherson, Red Oak. (1848-1915). Born Indiana. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa State's Attorney, 1872; Iowa Attorney General, 1881-1885. House, 1899-June 6, 1900. Resigned to accept U. S. judgeship for Southern Iowa, 1900-1915. Died Red Oak. Succeeded in House by:

Walter I. Smith, Council Bluffs. (1862-1922). Born Iowa. *Re-*

³⁵ DAB, 21:384-5.

publican. Lawyer. House, December 3, 1900–March 15, 1911. Resigned to accept U. S. circuit judgeship, 8th judicial circuit, served 1911–1922. Died Council Bluffs.

- 10 Jonathan P. Dolliver — resigned August 22, 1900, to accept senatorship. Succeeded by:

James P. Conner, Denison. (1851–1924). Born Indiana. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. House, December 4, 1900–1909. Died Denison.

- 11 Lot Thomas, Storm Lake. (1843–1905). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. House, 1899–1905. Died Arizona.

FIFTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, 1901–1903 (William McKinley; Theodore Roosevelt)

Senate

William B. Allison

Jonathan P. Dolliver

House

- 1 Thomas Hedge
- 2 John N. W. Rumble, Marengo. (1841–1903). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Civil War, captain. Lawyer. Iowa Senate, 1873–1878. House, 1901–January 31, 1903 (died in office). Died Illinois.
- 3 David B. Henderson
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 Robert G. Cousins
- 6 John F. Lacey
- 7 John A. T. Hull
- 8 William P. Hepburn
- 9 Walter I. Smith
- 10 James P. Conner
- 11 Lot Thomas

FIFTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, 1903–1905 (Theodore Roosevelt)

Senate

William B. Allison

Jonathan P. Dolliver

House

- 1 Thomas Hedge

- 2 Martin J. Wade,³⁶ Iowa City. (1861–1931). Born Vermont. *Democrat*. Lawyer, judge. President, Iowa Bar Assn., 1897–1898. House, 1903–1905. Judge, U. S. District Court for Southern Iowa, 1915–1931. Died California.
- 3 Benjamin P. Birdsall, Clarion. (1858–1917). Born Wisconsin. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. House, 1903–1909. Died Clarion.
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 Robert G. Cousins
- 6 John F. Lacey
- 7 John A. T. Hull
- 8 William P. Hepburn
- 9 Walter I. Smith
- 10 James P. Conner
- 11 Lot Thomas

FIFTY-NINTH CONGRESS, 1905–1907 (Theodore Roosevelt)

Senate

William B. Allison
Jonathan P. Dolliver

House

- 1 Thomas Hedge
- 2 Albert F. Dawson, Preston. (1872–1949). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Banker, public utilities. Secretary to W. B. Allison, 1895–1905. House, 1905–1911. Died Ohio.
- 3 Benjamin P. Birdsall
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 Robert G. Cousins
- 6 John F. Lacey
- 7 John A. T. Hull
- 8 William P. Hepburn
- 9 Walter I. Smith
- 10 James P. Conner
- 11 Elbert H. Hubbard, Sioux City. (1849–1912). Born Indiana. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1882; Iowa Senate, 1900–1902. House, 1905–June 4, 1912 (died in office). Died Sioux City.

³⁶ DAB, 19:307.

SIXTIETH CONGRESS, 1907-1909 (Theodore Roosevelt)

Senate

William B. Allison — died August 4, 1908. Succeeded by:

Albert B. Cummins,³⁷ Des Moines. (1850-1926). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1888-1890. Governor of Iowa, 1902-November 24, 1908, resigned to enter Senate. Senate, *December 8, 1908-July 30, 1926* (died in office). President pro tempore, Senate, 1919-1925. Died Des Moines.

Jonathan P. Dolliver

House

- 1 Charles A. Kennedy, Montrose. (1869-). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Nurseryman, banker. Iowa House, 1903-1905. House, 1907-1921.
- 2 Albert F. Dawson
- 3 Benjamin P. Birdsall
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 Robert G. Cousins
- 6 Daniel W. Hamilton, Sigourney. (1861-1936). Born Illinois. *Democrat*. Lawyer, judge. House, 1907-1909. Died Minnesota.
- 7 John A. T. Hull
- 8 William P. Hepburn
- 9 Walter I. Smith
- 10 James P. Conner
- 11 Elbert H. Hubbard

SIXTY-FIRST CONGRESS, 1909-1911 (William Howard Taft)

Senate

Jonathan P. Dolliver — died October 15, 1910. Succeeded by:

Lafayette Young,³⁸ Des Moines. (1848-1926). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Newspaperman. Iowa Senate, 1874-1886. Senate, *December 6, 1910-April 11, 1911*, when defeated for re-election. Died Des Moines

Albert B. Cummins

³⁷ *DAB*, 4:597-9. Professor Ralph M. Sayre of Parsons College, Fairfield, is working on a full-length biography of Cummins.

³⁸ *DAB*, 20:632-3.

House

- 1 Charles A. Kennedy
- 2 Albert F. Dawson
- 3 Charles E. Pickett, Waterloo. (1866–1930). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer, banker. House, 1909–1913. Lost nomination Senate, 1926. Died Waterloo.
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 James W. Good, Cedar Rapids. (1866–1929). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. House, 1909–June 15, 1921 (resigned). Secretary of War, March 5–November 18, 1929 (died in office). Died Washington, D. C.
- 6 Nathan E. Kendall, Albia. (1868–1936). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1899–1909, speaker, 1909. House, 1909–1913. Governor of Iowa, 1921–1925. Died Des Moines.
- 7 John A. T. Hull
- 8 William D. Jamieson, Shenandoah. (1873–1949). Born Iowa. *Democrat*. Editor. Iowa Senate, 1907–1909. House, 1909–1911. Died Washington, D. C.
- 9 Walter I. Smith
- 10 Frank P. Woods, Estherville. (1868–1944). Born Wisconsin. *Republican*. Banker. House, 1909–1919. Died California.
- 11 Elbert H. Hubbard

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS, 1911–1913 (William Howard Taft)

Senate

Albert B. Cummins

Lafayette Young — to April 11, 1911. Replaced by:

William S. Kenyon,³⁹ Fort Dodge. (1869–1933). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Assistant to Attorney General, 1910–1911. Senate, April 24, 1911–February 24, 1922 (resigned). U. S. Judge, Circuit Court of Appeals, 1922–1933. Member Wickersham Commission, 1929. Died Maine.

House

- 1 Charles A. Kennedy
- 2 Irvin S. Pepper, Muscatine. (1876–1913). Born Iowa. *Democrat*.

³⁹ DAB, 21:465–6.

Lawyer. House, 1911–December 22, 1913 (died in office). Died Clinton County.

- 3 Charles E. Pickett
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 James W. Good
- 6 Nathan E. Kendall
- 7 Solomon F. Prouty, Des Moines (1854–1927). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Iowa House, 1880–1881. House, 1911–1915. Died Des Moines.
- 8 Horace M. Towner, Corning. (1855–1937). Born Illinois. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. House, 1911–April 1, 1923 (resigned). Governor of Puerto Rico, 1923–1929. Died Corning.
- 9 Walter I. Smith — resigned March 15, 1911. Succeeded by: William R. Green, Audubon. (1856–1947). Born Connecticut. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. House, June 21, 1911–March 31, 1928 (resigned). Judge, U. S. Court of Claims, 1928–1942. Died New York.
- 10 Frank P. Woods
- 11 Elbert H. Hubbard — died June 4, 1912. Succeeded by: George C. Scott, Sioux City. (1864–1948). Born New York. *Republican*. Lawyer. House, December 2, 1912–1915, 1917–1919. Judge, U. S. District Court for Northern Iowa, 1922–1943. Died Sioux City.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS, 1913–1915 (Woodrow Wilson)

Senate

Albert B. Cummins
William S. Kenyon

House

- 1 Charles A. Kennedy
- 2 Irvin S. Pepper — died December 22, 1913. Succeeded by: Henry Vollmer, Davenport. (1867–1930). Born Iowa. *Democrat*. Lawyer. House, February 25, 1914–1915. Died California.
- 3 Maurice Connolly, Dubuque. (1877–1921). Born Iowa. *Democrat*. Lawyer, insurance, banking. House, 1913–1915. Defeated, Senate, 1914. World War I. Killed, air accident, Maryland.
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen

- 5 James W. Good
- 6 Sanford Kirkpatrick, Ottumwa. (1842–1932). Born Ohio. *Democrat*. Merchant. Civil War. House, 1913–1915. Died North Carolina.
- 7 Solomon F. Prouty
- 8 Horace M. Towner
- 9 William R. Green
- 10 Frank P. Woods
- 11 George C. Scott

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, 1915–1917 (Woodrow Wilson)

Senate

Albert B. Cummins
William S. Kenyon

House

- 1 Charles A. Kennedy
- 2 Harry E. Hull, Williamsburg. (1864–1938). Born New York. *Republican*. Manufacturing, grain business. House, 1915–1925. Commissioner General of Immigration, 1925–1933. Died Washington, D. C.
- 3 Burton E. Sweet, Waverly. (1867–). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1900–1904. House, 1915–1923. Lost primary for Senate, 1922, 1924.
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 James W. Good
- 6 C. William Ramseyer, Bloomfield. (1875–1943). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. House, 1915–1933. Commissioner, U. S. Court of Claims, 1933–1943. Died Washington, D. C.
- 7 Cassius C. Dowell, Des Moines. (1864–1940). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1894–1898; Iowa Senate, 1902–1912. House, 1915–1935, 1937–February 4, 1940 (died in office). Died Washington, D. C.
- 8 Horace M. Towner
- 9 William R. Green
- 10 Frank P. Woods
- 11 Thomas J. Steele, Sioux City. (1853–1920). Born Indiana. *Democrat*. Lawyer, banker. House, 1915–1917. Died Sioux City.

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, 1917-1919 (Woodrow Wilson)

Senate

Albert B. Cummins

William S. Kenyon

House

- 1 Charles A. Kennedy
- 2 Harry E. Hull
- 3 Burton E. Sweet
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 James W. Good
- 6 C. William Ramseyer
- 7 Cassius C. Dowell
- 8 Horace M. Towner
- 9 William R. Green
- 10 Frank P. Woods
- 11 George C. Scott (See Sixty-second Congress)

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, 1919-1921 (Woodrow Wilson)

Senate

Albert B. Cummins

William S. Kenyon

House

- 1 Charles A. Kennedy
- 2 Harry E. Hull
- 3 Burton E. Sweet
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 James W. Good
- 6 C. William Ramseyer
- 7 Cassius C. Dowell
- 8 Horace M. Towner
- 9 William R. Green
- 10 Lester J. Dickinson, Algona. (1873-). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. House, 1919-1931; Senate, 1931-1937. Failed re-election, Senate, 1936, 1938.
- 11 William B. Boies, Sheldon. (1857-1932). Born Illinois. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. House, 1919-1929. Died Sheldon.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, 1921-1923 (Warren G. Harding)

Senate

Albert B. Cummins

William S. Kenyon — resigned February 24, 1922. Succeeded by:
Charles A. Rawson, Des Moines. (1867–1936). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Banking, insurance, manufacturing. Appointed to Senate, February 24–December 1, 1922 (to fill Kenyon vacancy). Died Des Moines. Succeeded by:

Smith W. Brookhart, Washington. (1869–1944). Born Missouri. *Progressive Republican*. Spanish-American War, World War I. Elected to Senate for balance of Kenyon term. Senate, December 2, 1922–1933. (Daniel F. Steck successfully contested seat in 1926, Brookhart re-elected 1926.) Lost nomination, Senate, 1932, 1936. Died Arizona.

House

1 William F. Kopp, Mount Pleasant. (1869–1938). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1915–1917. House, 1921–1933. Died Mount Pleasant.

2 Harry E. Hull

3 Burton E. Sweet

4 Gilbert N. Haugen

5 James W. Good — resigned June 15, 1921. Succeeded by:

Cyrenus Cole, Cedar Rapids. (1863–1939). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Newspaperman, author. House, July 28, 1921–1933. Died Washington, D. C.

6 C. William Ramseyer

7 Cassius C. Dowell

8 Horace M. Towner

9 William R. Green

10 Lester J. Dickinson

11 William D. Boies

SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, 1923–1925 (Calvin Coolidge)

Senate

Albert B. Cummins

Smith W. Brookhart

House

1 William F. Kopp

- 2 Harry E. Hull
- 3 Thomas J. B. Robinson, Hampton. (1868-). Born Wisconsin. *Republican*. Banker. Iowa Senate, 1912-1916. House, 1923-1933.
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 Cyrenus Cole
- 6 C. William Ramseyer
- 7 Cassius C. Dowell
- 8 Horace M. Towner — resigned April 1, 1923. Succeeded by: Hiram K. Evans, Corydon. (1863-1941). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Iowa House, 1896-1897. House, December 5, 1923-1925. Died Corydon.
- 9 William R. Green
- 10 Lester J. Dickinson
- 11 William D. Boies

SIXTY-NINTH CONGRESS, 1925-1927 (Calvin Coolidge)

Senate

- Albert B. Cummins — died July 30, 1926. Succeeded by:
 David W. Stewart, Sioux City. (1887-). Born Ohio. *Republican*. Lawyer. World War I. Senate, November 10, 1926-1927.
 Smith W. Brookhart — seat successfully contested by:
 Daniel F. Steck, Ottumwa. (1881-1950). Born Iowa. *Democrat*. Lawyer. World War I. Senate, April 12, 1926-1931. Special Assistant, U. S. Attorney General, 1933-1947. Died Ottumwa.

House

- 1 William F. Kopp
- 2 F. Dickinson Letts, Davenport. (1875-). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. House, 1925-1931. Associate Justice, District Court of U. S. for District of Columbia, 1931- .
- 3 Thomas J. B. Robinson
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 Cyrenus Cole
- 6 C. William Ramseyer
- 7 Cassius C. Dowell
- 8 Lloyd Thurston, Osceola. (1880-). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Spanish-American War, World War I. Lawyer. Iowa Senate,

1920–1924. House, 1925–1939. Failed nomination, Senate, 1938.

- 9 William R. Green
- 10 Lester J. Dickinson
- 11 William D. Boies

SEVENTIETH CONGRESS, 1927–1929 (Calvin Coolidge)

Senate

Daniel F. Steck
Smith W. Brookhart

House

- 1 William F. Kopp
- 2 F. Dickinson Letts
- 3 Thomas J. B. Robinson
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 Cyrenus Cole
- 6 C. William Ramseyer
- 7 Cassius C. Dowell
- 8 Lloyd Thurston
- 9 William R. Green — resigned March 31, 1928. Succeeded by:
Earl W. Vincent, Guthrie Center. (1886–1953). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1923–1927. House, *December*
3, 1928–1929. Judge, 5th Judicial District, Iowa, 1945–1953.
Died Guthrie Center.
- 10 Lester J. Dickinson
- 11 William D. Boies

SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS, 1929–1931 (Herbert Hoover)

Senate

Daniel F. Steck
Smith W. Brookhart

House

- 1 William F. Kopp
- 2 F. Dickinson Letts
- 3 Thomas J. B. Robinson
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 Cyrenus Cole
- 6 C. William Ramseyer

- 7 Cassius C. Dowell
- 8 Lloyd Thurston
- 9 Charles E. Swanson, Council Bluffs. (1879-). Born Illinois. *Republican*. Lawyer. House, 1929-1933.
- 10 Lester J. Dickinson
- 11 Ed H. Campbell, Battle Creek. (1882-). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. World War I. Iowa House, 1911-1913; Iowa Senate, 1920-1928, president pro tempore, 1924-1926. House, 1929-1933.

SEVENTY-SECOND CONGRESS, 1931-1933 (Herbert Hoover)

Senate

Smith W. Brookhart

Lester J. Dickinson (see Sixty-sixth Congress)

House

- 1 William F. Kopp
- 2 Bernhard M. Jacobsen, Clinton. (1862-1936). Born Germany. *Democrat*. Merchant, financier. House, 1931-June 30, 1936 (died in office). Died Minnesota.
- 3 Thomas J. B. Robinson
- 4 Gilbert N. Haugen
- 5 Cyrenus Cole
- 6 C. William Ramseyer
- 7 Cassius C. Dowell
- 8 Lloyd Thurston
- 9 Charles E. Swanson
- 10 Fred C. Gilchrist, Laurens. (1868-1950). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer. Iowa House, 1902-1904; Iowa Senate, 1923-1931. House, 1931-1945. Died Laurens.
- 11 Ed H. Campbell

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS, 1933-1935 ⁴⁰ (F. D. Roosevelt)*Senate*

Lester J. Dickinson

Richard Louis Murphy, Dubuque. (1875-1936). Born Iowa. *Demo-*

⁴⁰ According to the 20th amendment to the Constitution, Congress now convenes on January 3 instead of March 4. The Seventy-fourth Congress (1935) was the first to convene on January 3.

crat. Newspaperman. Senate, 1933–July 16, 1936, when killed in an automobile accident in Wisconsin.

House ⁴¹

- 1 Edward C. Eicher, Washington. (1878–1944). Born Iowa. *Democrat*. Lawyer. House, 1933–December 2, 1938 (resigned). Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, 1938–1942. Chief Justice, District Court of U. S. for District of Columbia, 1942–1944. Died Virginia.
- 2 Bernhard M. Jacobsen
- 3 Albert C. Willford, Waterloo. (1877–1937). Born Iowa. *Democrat*. Engineer, manufacturer. House, 1933–1935. Died Waterloo.
- 4 Frederick E. Biermann, Decorah. (1884–). Born Minnesota. *Democrat*. Editor. World War I. House, 1933–1939. U. S. Marshal for Northern Iowa, 1940– .
- 5 Lloyd Thurston
- 6 Cassius C. Dowell
- 7 Otha D. Wearin, Hastings. (1903–). Born Iowa. *Democrat*. Farmer, editor. Iowa House, 1928–1932. House, 1933–1939. Lost nomination, Senate, 1938.
- 8 Fred C. Gilchrist
- 9 Guy M. Gillette, Cherokee. (1879–). Born Iowa. *Democrat*.

⁴¹ By act of the Iowa General Assembly of 1931, Iowa's eleven congressional districts were reduced to nine, and reapportioned as follows:

1st: Washington, Louisa, Jefferson, Henry, Des Moines, Lee, Van Buren, Iowa, Johnson, Cedar, Muscatine.

2nd: Linn, Jones, Dubuque, Jackson, Clinton, Scott.

3rd: Wright, Franklin, Butler, Bremer, Hardin, Grundy, Black Hawk, Marshall, Tama, Benton.

4th: Worth, Mitchell, Howard, Winneshiek, Allamakee, Cerro Gordo, Floyd, Chickasaw, Fayette, Clayton, Buchanan, Delaware.

5th: Jasper, Poweshiek, Mahaska, Keokuk, Union, Clarke, Lucas, Monroe, Wapello, Ringgold, Decatur, Wayne, Appanoose, Davis.

6th: Story, Dallas, Polk, Madison, Warren, Marion.

7th: Harrison, Shelby, Audubon, Guthrie, Pottawattamie, Cass, Adair, Mills, Montgomery, Adams, Fremont, Page, Taylor.

8th: Emmet, Kossuth, Winnebago, Palo Alto, Hancock, Pocahontas, Humboldt, Calhoun, Webster, Hamilton, Crawford, Carroll, Greene, Boone.

9th: Lyons, Osceola, Dickinson, Sioux, O'Brien, Clay, Plymouth, Cherokee, Buena Vista, Woodbury, Ida, Sac, Monona.

Laws of Iowa, 1931, 9-10. See also Francis O. Wilcox, "Congressional Redistricting in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 29:461–517 (October, 1931).

Lawyer. Spanish-American War, World War I. Iowa Senate, 1912-1916. House, 1933-November 3, 1936, resigned; elected to seat in Senate vacated by death of Murphy. Senate, January 5, 1937-1945, 1949- .

SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, 1935-1937 (F. D. Roosevelt)

Senate

Lester J. Dickinson

Richard Louis Murphy — died July 16, 1936. Succeeded by:

Guy M. Gillette (See Seventy-third Congress)

House

1 Edward C. Eicher

2 Bernhard M. Jacobsen — died June 30, 1936. No replacement.

3 John W. Gwynne, Waterloo. (1889-). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. World War I. House, 1935-1949.

4 Frederick E. Biermann

5 Lloyd Thurston

6 Hubert Utterback, Des Moines. (1880-1942). Born Iowa. *Democrat*. Lawyer, judge. Associate Justice, Iowa Supreme Court, 1932-1933. House, 1935-1937. Lost nomination, Senate, 1936. Died Des Moines.

7 Otha D. Wearin

8 Fred C. Gilchrist

9 Guy M. Gillette — resigned November 3, 1936. No replacement.

SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, 1937-1939 (F. D. Roosevelt)

Senate

Guy M. Gillette

Clyde L. Herring, Des Moines. (1879-1945). Born Michigan. *Democrat*. Spanish-American War, World War I. Automobile business. Governor of Iowa, 1933-1937. Senate, 1937-1943. Lost re-election to Senate, 1942. Died Washington, D. C.

House

1 Edward C. Eicher — resigned December 2, 1938. No replacement.

2 William S. Jacobsen, Clinton. (1887-). Born Iowa. *Democrat*. Merchant, real estate, radio. House, 1937-1943.

3 John W. Gwynne

4 Frederick E. Biermann

- 5 Lloyd Thurston
- 6 Cassius C. Dowell
- 7 Otha D. Wearin
- 8 Fred C. Gilchrist
- 9 Vincent F. Harrington, Sioux City. (1903–1943). Born Iowa. Democrat. Businessman. World War II. Iowa Senate, 1933–1937. House, 1937–September 5, 1942, resigned to accept commission in Air Force. Died in England.

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, 1939–1941 (F. D. Roosevelt)

Senate

Guy M. Gillette
Clyde L. Herring

House

- 1 Thomas E. Martin, Iowa City. (1893–). Born Iowa. Republican. Lawyer. World War I. House, 1939– .
- 2 William S. Jacobsen
- 3 John W. Gwynne
- 4 Henry O. Talle, Decorah. (1892–). Born Minnesota. Republican. Teacher. World War I. House, 1939– .
- 5 Karl M. Le Compte, Corydon. (1887–). Born Iowa. Republican. Newspaperman. World War I. Iowa Senate, 1917–1921. House, 1939– .
- 6 Cassius C. Dowell — died February 4, 1940. Succeeded by: Robert K. Goodwin, Redfield. (1905–). Born Iowa. Republican. Manufacturing and agriculture. World War II. House, March 12, 1940–1941.
- 7 Ben F. Jensen, Exira. (1892–). Born Iowa. Republican. World War I. Manufacturer, lumber. House, 1939– .
- 8 Fred C. Gilchrist
- 9 Vincent F. Harrington

SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, 1941–1943 (F. D. Roosevelt)

Senate

Guy M. Gillette
Clyde L. Herring

House

- 1 Thomas E. Martin

- 2 William S. Jacobsen
- 3 John W. Gwynne
- 4 Henry O. Talle
- 5 Karl M. Le Compte
- 6 Paul Cunningham, Des Moines. (1890—). Born Pennsylvania. *Republican*. Lawyer. World War I. Iowa House, 1933–1937. House, 1941— .
- 7 Ben F. Jensen
- 8 Fred C. Gilchrist
- 9 Vincent F. Harrington — resigned September 5, 1942. Succeeded by:
Harry E. Narey, Spirit Lake. (1885—). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. House, November 16, 1942–1943. Judge, 14th Judicial District, Iowa, 1944— .

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, 1943–1945 (F. D. Roosevelt)

Senate

Guy M. Gillette

George A. Wilson, Des Moines. (1884–1953). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer, judge. Iowa Senate, 1925–1935. Governor of Iowa, 1939–1943. Senate, 1943–1949. Died Des Moines.

*House*⁴²

- 1 Thomas E. Martin
- 2 Henry O. Talle

⁴² By act of the Iowa General Assembly in 1941 the congressional districts were reduced to eight, as follows:

1st: Iowa, Johnson, Cedar, Scott, Washington, Muscatine, Louisa, Jefferson, Henry, Des Moines, Van Buren, Lee.

2nd: Winneshiek, Allamakee, Fayette, Clayton, Buchanan, Delaware, Dubuque, Benton, Linn, Jones, Jackson, Clinton.

3rd: Worth, Mitchell, Howard, Cerro Gordo, Floyd, Chickasaw, Franklin, Butler, Bremer, Hardin, Grundy, Black Hawk, Marshall, Tama.

4th: Jasper, Poweshiek, Mahaska, Keokuk, Union, Clarke, Lucas, Monroe, Wapello, Ringgold, Decatur, Wayne, Appanoose, Davis.

5th: Story, Dallas, Polk, Madison, Warren, Marion.

6th: Emmet, Kossuth, Winnebago, Palo Alto, Hancock, Pocahontas, Humboldt, Wright, Calhoun, Webster, Hamilton, Crawford, Carroll, Greene, Boone.

7th: Monona, Harrison, Shelby, Audubon, Guthrie, Pottawattamie, Cass, Adair, Mills, Montgomery, Adams, Fremont, Page, Taylor.

8th: Lyon, Osceola, Dickinson, Sioux, O'Brien, Clay, Plymouth, Cherokee, Buena Vista, Woodbury, Ida, Sac.

Laws of Iowa, 1941, Chap. 76.

- 3 John W. Gwynne
- 4 Karl M. Le Compte
- 5 Paul Cunningham
- 6 Fred C. Gilchrist
- 7 Ben F. Jensen
- 8 Charles B. Hoeven, Alton. (1895–). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. World War I. Iowa Senate, 1937–1941, president pro tempore, 1939–1941. House, 1943– .

SEVENTY-NINTH CONGRESS, 1945–1947 (F. D. Roosevelt; Harry S. Truman)

Senate

George A. Wilson

Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Cedar Rapids. (1896–). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. World War I. Iowa House, 1934–1937. Lieutenant-Governor, 1939–1942. Governor of Iowa, 1943–1944. Senate, 1945– .

House

- 1 Thomas E. Martin
- 2 Henry O. Talle
- 3 John W. Gwynne
- 4 Karl M. Le Compte
- 5 Paul Cunningham
- 6 James I. Dolliver, Fort Dodge. (1894–). Born Iowa. *Republican*. Lawyer. World War I. House, 1945– .
- 7 Ben F. Jensen
- 8 Charles B. Hoeven

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS, 1947–1949 (Harry S. Truman)

(Same membership as Seventy-ninth Congress)

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS, 1949–1951 (Harry S. Truman)

Senate

Bourke B. Hickenlooper

Guy M. Gillette (See Seventy-third Congress)

House

- 1 Thomas E. Martin
- 2 Henry O. Talle

- 3 H. R. Gross, Waterloo. (1899-). Born Iowa. *Republican*.
Editor, radio. World War I. House, 1949- .
- 4 Karl M. Le Compte
- 5 Paul Cunningham
- 6 James I. Dolliver
- 7 Ben F. Jensen
- 8 Charles B. Hoeven

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS, 1951-1953 (Harry S. Truman)

(Same membership as Eighty-first Congress)

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS, 1953-1955 (Dwight D. Eisenhower)

(Same membership as Eighty-first Congress)

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IOWANS IN CONGRESS — 29th–82nd Congresses

(The number following each name is that of the first Congress in which the member served; the figure in parentheses, the total number of years served.)

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Ainsworth, L. L., 44 (2) | Gillette, Guy M., 73 (15) | Leffler, S., 29 (5) |
| Allison, Wm. B., 38 (43) | Good, James W., 61 (12) | Letts, F. D., 69 (6) |
| Anderson, A. R., 50 (2) | Goodwin, R. K., 76 (1) | Loughridge, Wm., 40 (6) |
| Biermann, Fred. E., 73 (6) | Green, W. R., 62 (17) | Lyman, Joseph, 49 (4) |
| Birdsall, B. P., 58 (6) | Grimes, J. W., 36 (10) | Martin, T. E., 76 (14) |
| Boies, Wm. B., 66 (10) | Grinnell, J. B., 38 (4) | McCoid, M. A., 46 (6) |
| Bowman, Thos., 52 (2) | Gross, H. R., 81 (4) | McCrary, Geo. W., 41 (8) |
| Brookhart, S. W., 67 (11) | Gwynne, J. W., 74 (14) | McDill, J. W., 43 (6) |
| Burdick, T. W., 45 (2) | Hager, Alva L., 53 (6) | McPherson, S., 56 (1) |
| Butler, W. H., 52 (2) | Hall, Augustus, 34 (2) | Miller, D. F., 31 (2 mo.) |
| Campbell, Ed H., 71 (4) | Hall, B. J., 49 (2) | Murphy, J. H., 48 (4) |
| Carpenter, C. C., 46 (4) | Hamilton, D. W., 60 (2) | Murphy, R. L., 73 (3) |
| Clark, Lincoln, 32 (2) | Hamilton, J. T., 52 (2) | Narey, H. E., 77 (2 mo.) |
| Clark, Rush, 45 (2) | Harlan, James, 34 (17) | Oliver, S. A., 44 (4) |
| Clark, S. M., 54 (4) | Harrington, V. F., 75 (5) | Orr, Jackson, 42 (4) |
| Cole, Cyrenus, 67 (12) | Hastings, S. C., 29 (2 mo.) | Palmer, F. W., 41 (4) |
| Conger, E. H., 49 (5) | Haugen, G. N., 56 (34) | Pepper, I. S., 62 (2) |
| Conner, J. P., 56 (9) | Hayes, W. I., 50 (8) | Perkins, G. D., 52 (8) |
| Connolly, Maurice, 63 (2) | Hays, E. R., 51 (3 mo.) | Pickett, C. E., 61 (4) |
| Cook, John C., 48 (2) | Hedge, Thos., 56 (8) | Pomeroy, Chas., 41 (2) |
| Cook, John P., 33 (2) | Henderson, D. B., 48 (20) | Pratt, H. O., 43 (4) |
| Cotton, A. R., 42 (4) | Henn, Bernhart, 32 (4) | Price, Hiram, 38 (10) |
| Cousins, R. G., 53 (16) | Hepburn, W. P., 47 (22) | Prouty, S. F., 62 (4) |
| Cummings, H. J. B., 45 (2) | Herring, C. L., 75 (6) | Pusey, W. H., 48 (2) |
| Cummins, A. B., 60 (18) | Hickenlooper, B. B., 79 (8) | Ramseyer, C. W., 64 (18) |
| Cunningham, P. H., 77 (12) | Hoeven, C. B., 78 (10) | Rawson, C. A., 67 (1) |
| Curtis, Geo. M., 54 (4) | Holmes, A. J., 48 (6) | Reed, J. R., 51 (2) |
| Curtis, S. R., 35 (4½) | Howell, J. B., 41 (1) | Robinson, T. J. B., 68 (10) |
| Cutts, M. E., 47 (2½) | Hubbard, A. W., 38 (6) | Rumple, J. N. W., 57 (2) |
| Davis, Timothy, 35 (2) | Hubbard, E. H., 59 (7) | Sampson, E. S., 44 (4) |
| Dawson, A. F., 59 (6) | Hull, Harry E., 64 (10) | Sapp, Wm. F., 45 (4) |
| Deering, N. C., 45 (6) | Hull, J. A. T., 52 (20) | Scott, G. C., 62 (5) |
| Dickinson, L. J., 66 (18) | Jacobsen, B. M., 72 (5) | Seerley, J. J., 52 (2) |
| Dodge, A. C., 30 (6) | Jacobsen, W. S., 75 (6) | Smith, H. Y., 48 (3 mo.) |
| Dodge, G. M., 40 (2) | Jamieson, W. D., 61 (2) | Smith, W. I., 56 (11) |
| Dolliver, J. I., 79 (8) | Jensen, B. F., 76 (14) | Smyth, Wm., 41 (1½) |
| Dolliver, J. P., 51 (21) | Jones, G. W., 30 (10) | Steck, Dan F., 69 (5) |
| Donnan, Wm. G., 42 (4) | Kasson, J. A., 38 (11) | Steele, Thomas J., 64 (2) |
| Dowell, C. C., 64 (21) | Kendall, N. E., 61 (4) | Stewart, D. W., 69 (4 mo.) |
| Eicher, E. C., 73 (5) | Kennedy, C. A., 60 (14) | Stone, J. C., 45 (2) |
| Evans, Hiram K., 68 (2) | Kenyon, W. S., 62 (11) | Struble, I. S., 48 (8) |
| Farwell, S. S., 47 (2) | Kerr, Daniel, 50 (4) | Swanson, C. E., 71 (4) |
| Flick, J. P., 51 (4) | Kirkpatrick, S., 63 (2) | Sweet, B. E., 64 (8) |
| Frederick, B. T., 48 (2) | Kirkwood, S. J., 39 (5) | Sweney, J. H., 51 (2) |
| Fuller, W. E., 49 (4) | Kopp, W. F., 67 (12) | Talle, H. O., 76 (14) |
| Gear, John H., 50 (11) | Lacey, J. F., 51 (16) | Thomas, Lot, 56 (6) |
| Gilchrist, F. C., 72 (14) | Lane, J. R., 56 (2) | Thompson, Wm., 30 (3) |
| Gillette, E. H., 46 (2) | Le Compte, K. M., 76 (14) | Thompson, Wm. G., 46 (3) |

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Thorington, James, 34 (2) | Vollmer, Henry, 63 (1) | Wilson, G. A., 78 (6) |
| Thurston, Lloyd, 69 (14) | Wade, M. J., 58 (2) | Wilson, James, 43 (6) |
| Towner, H. M., 62 (12) | Walden, M. M., 42 (2) | Wilson, J. F., 37 (20) |
| Tufts, John Q., 44 (2) | Wearin, O. D., 73 (6) | Wolf, W. P., 41 (3 mo.) |
| Updegraff, Thos., 46 (10) | Weaver, J. B., 46 (6) | Woods, F. P., 61 (10) |
| Utterback, Hubert, 74 (2) | Weller, L. H., 48 (2) | Wright, G. G., 42 (6) |
| Vandever, Wm., 36 (2½) | White, F. E., 52 (2) | Young, Lafayette, 61 (4 mo.) |
| Vincent, E. W., 70 (3 mo.) | Willford, A. C., 73 (2) | |

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

Curator William D. Houlette, who is professor of history at Drake University, is active in furthering interest in Iowa history. In addition to speaking at the Guthrie County Historical Society meeting on July 12, 1953, Dr. Houlette has organized field trips for his classes in Iowa history for the purpose of visiting historic sites in the state. On July 16, 1953, as part of a radio program, "Let's Visit Drake," he discussed these Iowa history field trips.

Superintendent William J. Petersen has been appointed to the Board of Editors of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Dr. Petersen is also a member of the Editorial Board of the *American Archivist*.

The Robert Smyth Papers are now available for research students and will be particularly valuable to those seeking information about Linn and Marion counties. There are more than 100 personal and private letters in the collection, dating from 1854 to 1868. They are mostly family letters written to Robert Smyth, a paymaster with the Iowa troops stationed in Missouri and Iowa during the Civil War. Smyth was an astute lawyer and land owner with interests in many eastern Iowa counties. Many of the letters reflect the problems at home during wartime. In addition to the family letters, the collection also includes Smyth's official reports as paymaster.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

August 4	Addressed Davenport High Twelve Club.
August 15	Attended christening of towboat <i>Sioux City</i> at Omaha.
September 17-20	Attended meeting of American Association for State and Local History at Detroit.
September 21-22	Attended meeting of the Society of American Archivists at Detroit.

The following members were elected to membership in the State Historical Society during the months of July and August, 1953:

Ainsworth

Mr. R. L. Colthurst

Alta

Mrs. Effie Allen

Ames

Mr. John S. Quist

Mr. George C. Winterowd

Anamosa

Mr. Harold Hartman

Ankeny

Mr. Wm. A. Vaughn

Attica

Miss Winona M. Davis

Baldwin

Baldwin Public Schools

Belle Plaine

Mr. L. M. Winslow

Belmond

Mr. Roy A. Henderson

Mr. Bert C. Hewlett

Bettendorf

Mrs. John C. Crissey

Bloomfield

Miss Clara Barton

Mr. Robert D. Bond

Mrs. Frata Brown

Bryant

Mrs. John Camp

Burlington

Mr. Ralph F. Ziegler

Cedar Falls

Cedar Falls Jr. High School

Cedar Rapids

Mrs. Margaret S. Bernstorf

Mr. W. V. Fiebig

Mr. Eldon D. Johnson

Mr. Harold J. Rowe

Mr. G. K. Thompson

Miss Lena A. Vogt

Mr. Harry E. Winn

Corning

Mrs. Wayne L. Whitmore

Crawfordsville

Mr. Robert W. Miller

Creston

Miss Mary E. Ward

Davenport

Mr. R. V. Boom

Mr. Frank S. Maag

Sister Miriam Rita

Mrs. Raymond O. Schmidt

Mr. L. E. Milota

Mr. Peter C. Petersen

Mr. Carl E. Rylander

Mr. Walter E. Von Korff

Rev. Walter S. Wendt

Mr. G. Richard Wissing

Des Moines

Mr. John Bemis

Mr. H. E. Hazen

Miss Vashti Lott

Mr. Harry E. Russell

Mr. R. E. Thorpe

Dexter

Mr. John C. Nevins

De Witt

Mrs. A. H. Keen

Dubuque

Sister Mary Ursula

Durant

Mrs. Esther Meinert

Fairfield

Mrs. O. E. Kirby

Fort Dodge

Miss Sarah Heggen

Hopkinton

Mr. Marshall Neil

Hubbard

Mrs. Fannie B. Strother

Indianola

Mr. Lewis S. Kimer

Mr. Eldon L. Ogan

Iowa City

Mr. Reynold Larson

Mr. William Dyre Lampard

Mr. John T. McGruder

Mr. Edward F. Mason

Mr. H. G. Petershagen

Mr. W. W. Summerwill

Mr. Frank Vogel

Irwin

Mr. Donald G. McConnell

Kalona

Mr. Herman Ropp

Keokuk

Miss Helen Coombs

Mr. Harry C. Robertson

Knoxville

Dr. Robert B. May

Lockridge

Mr. E. H. Bogner

Mrs. Vincent E. Crane

Manchester

Mrs. Claude Ryan

Maquoketa

Miss Beatrice Sharp

Marshalltown

Mrs. Raymond Lorensen

Mr. James D. Scott

Mason City

Mrs. James B. Conroy

Miss Merry Lou Foster

Mr. M. E. Laird

Mrs. George W. Paschen

Mount Pleasant

Mrs. O. H. Martin

Mr. Melvin Talbott

Muscatine

Mrs. K. M. Hathaway

Mrs. R. W. Heerd

Mrs. Charles W. Opel

Mr. P. G. Richard

Mr. Berry Bryson Tracy

Newton

Mr. Fred J. Pulver

Norway

Mr. Royal L. Tuttle

Oelwein

Mr. V. Allan Vaughn

Osceola

Mrs. Mildred Gibson

Oskaloosa

Mr. Van Buren Reisman

Ottumwa

Mrs. Dewey E. Latimer

Pella

Mr. M. S. Kuyk

Prairie City

Mr. John R. Buckley

Royal

Mr. George W. Brighton

Sergeant Bluff

Mr. Fred C. Colby

Sigourney

Mr. C. L. Heald

Spirit Lake

Mr. Earl Treloar Rose

Sumner

Mr. L. P. Winks

Tracy

Mrs. L. B. Rankin

Waterloo

Mr. Clarence Clark

Mr. Victor B. Foster

Dr. Isaac E. Hayes

Mrs. Robert M. Knox

Mr. George F. Sherrill

Washington

Mr. John Gamon

Waukon

Mrs. Merton R. Palmer

West Des Moines

Mr. John R. Buckley, Jr.

West Liberty

Mrs. Charles Jacobsen

California

Mr. L. A. Edwards, Porterville

Colorado

Miss Virginia Moore, Denver

Idaho

Mr. W. Howard Davison, Boise

Illinois

Mr. James B. Vincent, Galena

Mr. Robert H. Milner, LaGrange

Indiana

Mr. William C. Power,

Indianapolis

Oregon

Mrs. Edith Birney, Portland

West Virginia

Mr. Thomas R. Ross, Elkins

The following persons were elected as life members:

Adel

Mrs. Milton M. Frakes

Beaman

Mr. T. L. Evans

Cedar Rapids

Mr. Geo. B. Sherman

Mr. Thomas C. Tibbitts

Fort Dodge

Mr. A. M. Kenyon

Kalona

Mrs. Emil Hesselschwerdt

Mason City

Dr. George M. Crabb

Mount Pleasant

Mr. Charles S. Rogers

Onawa

Mrs. A. W. Burgess

Postville

Mr. Joseph B. Steele

West Des Moines

Mr. Earl H. Williams

Missouri

Mr. Jay E. Keck, Independence

Ohio

Mr. Victor W. Flickinger,

Columbus

Iowa Historical Activities

The grave of the Indian chief, War Eagle, at Sioux City, has been restored. Located on a hilltop at the junction of the Sioux and Missouri

rivers, the gravesite had been made a state park, but had deteriorated in recent years. C. B. Chesterman of Sioux City provided the funds for the restoration of the site and for the improving of the road leading to the park. Mrs. Alfred C. Zweck had charge of the project.

At a meeting of the Four County Historical Society at Belle Plaine, H. Roy Mosnat read a paper on the famous Jumbo artesian well in that city. His paper was published in the August 19, 1953, *Belle Plaine Union*.

The 29th annual meeting of the Wyoming (Iowa) Historical Society was held on August 27, 1953. James E. Remley, attorney of Anamosa, addressed the meeting on "Past History of Wyoming."

Several county and town centennials have been the occasion of publication of booklets on local history. Montgomery County has published a centennial book which may be procured from the office of the *Villisca Review* for fifty cents. At Sanborn a "Historical Booklet" was published in September, at a cost of \$1.50. The Sanborn *Pioneer* can supply copies. Selections from this book have been published from time to time in the *Pioneer*.

The Strawberry Point centennial was held August 2-3, 1953. Part of the celebration included the publication of a booklet containing a brief history of the town. Sanborn celebrated its 75th anniversary, September 10-11. The Clarksville centennial occurred in June; that of Smithland in August; Troy Mills on September 1; and Toledo on October 16-17.

Walter T. Berrett has been appointed superintendent of the Effigy Mounds National Monument, to succeed W. J. Kennedy, who has been transferred to Bryce Canyon National Park in Utah. Mr. Berrett, who has been with the National Parks Service for seventeen years, took up his new duties on September 15.

The Oelwein *Register* is sponsoring a movement in northeastern Iowa for the collection and preservation of rare books and manuscripts dealing with that area of the state. The sponsors have had the advice of Clyde Walton, Jr., curator of rare books at the University of Iowa Library, on what books should be collected. As the drive progresses, the *Register* plans to publish articles on the historical information uncovered.

At a meeting of the reorganized McGregor Historical Society on June 26,

1953, Professor Leland Cooper addressed the group on the restoration of Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. Professor Cooper, of Hamline University in St. Paul, is doing research on the history of that area. The new society now has a membership of forty. One of their projects is the erecting of historical markers in the McGregor area.

O. J. Pruitt of Council Bluffs has retired as curator of the Pottawattamie County Historical Society, because of ill health. He was succeeded by Loran A. Clark, also of Council Bluffs. The Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, on July 11, 1953, published an editorial praising the work of Mr. Pruitt, who founded the Society in 1927.

The annual meeting of the Adair County Historical Society was held July 21, 1953, at Fontanelle. The president of the Society is Mrs. O. W. C. Brown of Greenfield; the vice-president is Miss Faye Dory; the secretary, E. E. Johnson. P. P. Sullivan of Bridgewater gave a talk at the meeting on "Frontiers."

A special meeting of the Mahaska County Historical Society was held on July 14, 1953, to discuss the problems of the Society's museum, which is housed in the courthouse at Oskaloosa. President of the Society is Marion H. Pothoven.

Officers elected at the annual meeting of the Ringgold County Historical Society in August are Donald Dailey, president; Arthur Palmer, vice-president; Miss Myrta Abigail Shannon, secretary; and Miss Patty Beard, treasurer.

A new historical society, to be known as "The Thomas Mitchell Historical Society," has been organized at Mitchellville, with the following officers: Lois Craig, president; James Grinstead, vice-president; Helen Stiffler, secretary-treasurer; Alta Glenn, Asa Lee, Forest Swift, Gladys Woods, and Charles Walter, members of the board of directors. Membership is \$1.00 per year. Mitchellville will celebrate its centennial in 1956.

The Guthrie County Historical Society held its annual picnic in Guthrie Center on July 12, 1953. Dr. W. D. Houlette, professor of history at Drake University and curator of the State Historical Society, addressed the Society on "Pioneer Life in Western Iowa After the Civil War," which was based on a book he is writing on pioneer life in Iowa. Another meeting of

the Society was held on August 9 at Bayard, where the various projects planned by the members were discussed. The Society is planning to mark additional historic sites in Guthrie County, to procure a museum for relics, and to start a 1961 supplement to the county history.

Other Historical Activities

Dr. Boyd C. Shafer of the University of Arkansas has been appointed Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association and editor of the *American Historical Review*, to succeed Dr. Guy Stanton Ford who is retiring. Dr. Shafer received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in history from the State University of Iowa.

The North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies at Fargo has published "Call Back Yesterday: How to Preserve and Write the Record of Our Regional Heritage," by Leonard Sackett, a booklet which should be of great value to those interested in preserving and writing the histories of their localities.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has made a color sound film on the activities and programs of the Society. The movie was completed in October. The Society is also preparing a monthly radio series, which started on September 15, consisting of lectures and discussions of Wisconsin history.

The American History Research Center of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has made its first four grants-in-aid for research in localized American history. Professor C. Brewster Coulter of the College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington, received a grant for research on the history of irrigation in Washington's Yakima Valley, 1880-1926; Francis Garvin Davenport of Monmouth College, Monmouth, Illinois, for a history of the development of scientific interests in Illinois in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Russell R. Elliott of the University of Nevada, for a history of Nevada's mining booms in the twentieth century; and Don E. Fehrenbacher of Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, for a history of "Long John" Wentworth, famous civic leader of Chicago during the mid-nineteenth century. The grants from the Research Center are made possible by private gifts and bequests.

The Nebraska State Historical Society celebrated its 75th anniversary on

September 26-27, 1953. Part of the program included the dedication of the new building which will house the Society. Speakers at the two-day meeting included Walter Prescott Webb, professor of history at the University of Texas and vice-president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association; and Albert B. Corey, New York state historian and president of the American Association for State and Local History.

A Mid-America centennial show at Omaha in 1954 is being planned. It will be a year-long Historical-Industrial Festival — the first in this region since the Trans-Mississippi Exposition of 1898 — and will celebrate the Midwest's 100th birthday as "The Great Breadbasket of the U. S. A." The officials are urging the farmers of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, South Dakota, and Nebraska to take part by supplying old farm implements for display. L. M. Peterson is chairman of the spectacle sub-committee of the Centennial Agricultural Committee and he wants this old equipment for use in the Historical Spectacle planned for the week of August 23, 1954, and for a Pioneer Parade at the same time. Owners of equipment they think might be of use can write to Mr. Peterson at Centennial Headquarters, City Hall, Omaha, Nebraska.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

Encyclopedia of American History. Edited by Richard B. Morris. (New York, Harper & Bros., 1953. \$6.00.) This reference work is divided into three parts: Basic Chronology; Topical Chronology; and Three Hundred Notable Americans. A very full index enables the user of the volume to find any topic. In the first section, the major events in American history are listed and described chronologically from pre-Columbian times to the present. The second section deals with such topics as the Constitution, the Supreme Court, the American economy, science and invention, and thought and culture. The 300 Americans chosen for biographies are taken from government, politics, military service, business, and the various cultural fields of literature, music, science, religion, and education.

The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861. By Avery O. Craven. (Vol. VI, *A History of the South*, Louisiana State University Press, 1953. \$6.50.) This is the sixth published volume in the projected 10-volume *History of the South*, and deals with the crucial years leading to the Civil War. Dr. Craven, who has written extensively on this period of American history, traces the growth of sectionalism through the efforts at compromise to the final "breakdown of the democratic process," when "bullets took the place of ballots."

The Immigrant Takes His Stand: The Norwegian-American Press and Public Affairs, 1847-1872. By Arlow William Andersen. (Northfield, Minn., Norwegian-American Historical Assn., 1953. \$3.50.) Dr. Andersen has made a study of the editorial opinion of the Norwegian-American press of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois during the middle years of the nineteenth century and has analyzed the treatment of "political, diplomatic, and social developments." The Norwegian editors wrote on public affairs for a number of reasons: to prepare their readers for participation in American affairs; to fight Negro slavery; to fight the nativist movement; and to elect fellow-Norwegians to public office. The author found that the Norwegian papers were at first Democratic, but that with the coming of the Civil War their political affiliations became almost unanimously Republican.

Bourbon Democracy of the Middle West, 1865-1896. By Horace Samuel Merrill. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1953. \$4.00.) In this book Dr. Merrill makes a study of the so-called "Bourbon" element in the Democratic party in the years when the party was in political eclipse, except for Grover Cleveland's two terms. His thesis is that Middle Western Bourbon Democrats, such as William F. Vilas, Cyrus H. McCormick, James J. Hill, and J. Sterling Morton, controlled the party in the interests of "big business" and fought against the agrarian and "democratic" elements represented by such men as William Jennings Bryan, John Peter Altgeld, Horace Boies of Iowa, and Ignatius Donnelly.

The Army Air Forces in World War II. Volume Five: The Pacific: Matterhorn to Nagasaki, June 1944 to August 1945. Prepared under the Editorship of Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953. \$8.50.) This is Volume Five of a projected seven-volume history of the American Air Forces in World War II. Historians of the USAF Historical Division of Research Studies have contributed chapters on the many phases of the last year of the war in the Pacific. Most dramatic is the account of the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the final days of the conflict. A high standard of writing and research make these volumes of military history a great contribution to the whole story of World War II.

Articles

"George W. Norris as a Student at Baldwin University" is the title of an article by David Lindsey, which was published in the June, 1953, *Nebraska History*.

"Vernon Parrington's View: Economics and Criticism," edited by Vernon Parrington, Jr., in the July, 1953, *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, will be of great interest to historians. This essay, originally written in 1917, is a plea for more attention to the economic background of American literature, and was written when such ideas were considered extremely radical.

The authenticity of the so-called "Kensington Rune Stone" has long been a matter of controversy. Hjalmar Rued Holand, who believes in the stone's authenticity, contributes an article, "A Review of the Kensington Stone Research," to the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Summer, 1953.

An article in the July, 1953, *Bulletin* of the Missouri Historical Society will be of interest to students of political history. It is "‘Silver Dick’ Bland" and is written by Bland's secretary, Ovid Bell. Richard Parks Bland, Democratic member of the House of Representatives from Missouri, was long prominent in his party and was one of the leading advocates of free silver. This article gives a personal glimpse of Bland's last years in Congress.

Professor James C. Malin of the University of Kansas has made a study of the famous "Sack of Lawrence" of 1856. The first of a two-part article appeared in the August, 1953, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, and is entitled "Judge Lecompte and the ‘Sack of Lawrence,’ May 21, 1856." Another article by Dr. Malin appeared in the May, 1953, *Quarterly*: "Aspects of the Nebraska Question, 1852-1854," a summarization of parts of his forthcoming book on the Nebraska Question, which will be published in 1954.

Iowa

James C. McMeekin of Davenport is publishing a magazine, of interest to railroad enthusiasts, called *Steel Rails*. The July 31, 1953, issue featured the Davenport, Rock Island & North Western Railroad. The office of the publication is 116 West 16th Street, Davenport, and the subscription rate is \$4.00.

The 60th anniversary of the establishment of the *Nashua Reporter* was the occasion for the publication of a brief history of the paper by Alice R. Mottz. The history appeared in the August 6, 1953, issue of the *Reporter*.

"One Hundred Years of Service" is the title of a booklet written by Joseph E. Thostenson containing a history of Central College at Pella. The booklet is published as No. 5, Vol. LIII, of the *Central College Bulletin*, and is dated August, 1953.

An article by Carter Henderson on the Amana Refrigeration Corporation appeared in the July 15, 1953, *Wall Street Journal*.

The part played by the Spencer repeating rifle in the Civil War is told in an article by J. O. Buckeridge in the July 12, 1953, *Davenport Democrat*. He bases his story on the activities of the 4th Iowa Cavalry.

An article on "Modern Amana" by Grace M. Buchwalter appeared in the June-July issue of *The American-German Review*.

The July, 1953, *Annals of Iowa* contains the following articles: "Thirty-second Biennial Meeting of Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers," by Emory H. English; "Prairie Fires Menaced Settlers," by N. Tjernagel; "Earliest Man in Iowa," by Thomas P. Christensen; "Iowa Republicans Organized in 1856," by Emory H. English; "The Glory of the Hawkeye State," by Governor George W. Clarke; "Camels Gave a Name to Iowa," by Ora Williams; and "William F. Cody, alias 'Buffalo Bill,'" by E. A. Johnson.

CONTRIBUTORS

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